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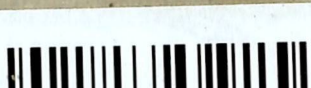

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THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH

of France.

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PRIVATE MEMOIRS

RELATIVE TO THE

LAST YEAR OF THE REIGN

OF

LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH,

LATE KING OF FRANCE.

36856

By ANT. FR. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,
MINISTER OF STATE AT THAT TIME.

Tranſlated from the Original Manuſcript of the Author, which has never been publiſhed.

WITH FIVE PORTRAITS, FROM ORIGINAL PICTURES,
OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE.

——— *quæque ipſe miſerrima vidi*
Et quorum pars—— VIRG.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
VOL. III.

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1797.

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	35.	— 21.	*for* lady the court *read* lady of the court
	142.	— 13.	*before* confented *dele* ſhe.
	217.	— 13.	*for* ante-republican *read* anti-republican
	378.	— 2.	*for* s'enſuit *read* ſuit
	379.	— 8.	*for* cachot *read* cachots
	383.	— 4.	*for* à Abbaye *read* à l'Abbaye
		17.	*for* et ce mémoire *read* et que ce mémoire
	394.	— 21.	*for* cet démarche *read* cette démarche
	405.	— 13.	*for* les plus *read* le plus
	427.	— 16.	*for* fuit remettre *read* fait remettre

PRIVATE MEMOIRS.

CHAP. XXX.

M. de Monciel withdraws from the adminiſtration.—He is admitted into our ſecret committee.—Another perſon is propoſed, whoſe admiſſion I oppoſe.—At the king's deſire I agree to it.—The project of a freſh inſurrection on the 29th of July.—Means employed to prevent it.—A new plan for the king's eſcape.

M. DE MONCIEL was forced, by particular circumſtances, to quit the miniſtry, where he had only remained a month: but during that ſhort interval he diſplayed prudence, abilities, and zeal for the king's ſervice. His majeſty continued to place

 confi-

confidence in him, and he was admitted into our committees immediately after his reſignation. As his perſon was not much known in the palace, he had the advantage of not being remarked when he appeared there; and on the days of the committee he regularly waited upon the king at nine o'clock at night, to give him an account of what had paſſed there; which he could do in a more circumſtantial manner than I could in my letters. The king not being more exact than formerly in following our advice, M. de Montmorin propoſed to call into our committees a certain perſon, who *had been* a member of the conſtituent aſſembly, becauſe he knew that this perſon kept up a ſecret correſpondence with the king, and ſuſpected that he ſometimes embarraſſed his majeſty, by giving him advices different from ours. I warmly oppoſed this, from the repugnance I felt at having any communication or connection with a man, whoſe conduct had been ſo odious and contemptible as I knew

that

that of the perſon in queſtion to have been *.

"He has acknowledged his errors," ſaid M. de Montmorin, "and wiſhes to repair them. Beſides, I am certain it would give pleaſure to the king, who, you know, has confidence in him."

"I have often heard that," anſwered I; "and if it be ſo, I am very ſorry for the king's ſake, as no good can reſult from it."

"I neither love nor eſteem the man more than you do," ſaid M. de Montmorin: "but, in ſhort, I would admit the devil, if his preſence could be of any ſervice to the king."

"And ſo, moſt certainly, would I: but I am perſuaded that this devil can only do harm."

* This man, and his moſt intimate friends, after having been of the *côté gauche* of the aſſembly, and among the chief promoters of the revolution, was now an enemy to the conſtitution, and wiſhed to have the lead among the royaliſts.

"You may be miſtaken," ſaid M. de Montmorin; "ſo let us ſee. Come, come, you muſt make this one trial."

"In the firſt place," replied I, "it muſt be clear to me that the king deſires it, and I will bring it to the proof in my firſt letter."

I accordingly gave the king an account of M. de Montmorin's propoſal, and alſo of my repugnance to adopt it. He wrote back in the margin,

"You will give me pleaſure by adopting the propoſal."

In compliance to his majeſty's will, I told M. de Montmorin that he might ſend to the gentleman when he thought proper.

Our firſt interview was in the committee following, for I did not even know him by ſight. I obſerved him, and liſtened to what he ſaid with ſilent attention, only anſwering his civilities by monoſyllables. His diſcourſe was vague. He was loquacious, without ſaying any thing to the purpoſe. He ſpoke much of himſelf, of his influ-

ence

ence and reſources, and of thoſe of his friends; and what might be done through their means, and of the compenſation they ought to receive in return for their ſervices. In a word, one would have thought, according to him, that we ought to deſire the king's welfare, and the re-eſtabliſhment of his authority, merely on purpoſe to place the gentleman himſelf, and his friends, at the head of affairs. With all this, he propoſed no plan whatever, except that of meeting us very often. He invited me to his houſe, and begged that I would permit him to viſit me. I refuſed both requeſts, upon the pretence of prudence and circumſpection: but my real motive was, that I felt both indignation and contempt for the man.

We agreed that our next committee ſhould be held at the houſe of M. de Monciel, and that we ſhould go there on foot, to avoid being remarked. When he left us, I aſked M. de Montmorin if I had not gueſſed right, in conjecturing that ſuch a man could never do us any good.

"Do not judge of him by this firſt converſation," ſaid M. de Montmorin; "he ſeemed to have drank too much at dinner. Suſpend your opinion till the next committee, and you will find that he is a man of real talents and reſources."

At our next meeting, this gentleman, in ſpite of our agreement, arrived in his carriage, ordering it to be driven into the court. He ſpoke leſs, but always in the ſame ſtrain, and always about himſelf and his friends. One would have ſuppoſed that theſe gentlemen, who, till then, had never poſſeſſed any power but that of doing miſchief, and had only had the means of committing crimes, when they reigned in the Jacobin party, had now the command of an army, able to overſet that very ſociety which had expelled them; as if one could wear by turns, and always with equal ſucceſs, the *bonnet rouge* and the white cockade, and lead the populace one day to the tree of liberty, and the next rally them under the royal ſtandard.

Nothing

Nothing undoubtedly is more inconſiſtent than the will and affections of the people, but they ſeldom or never change their party without changing their leaders alſo.

Dumourier experienced this on the part of his army, when he wiſhed to lead it to the ſupport of the conſtitutional monarchy; and many others, when they had become aſhamed of a revolution which had originally been their own work, continued, in ſpite of themſelves, to ſerve it; and, in fact, were as hurtful to the king's intereſt when they profeſſed themſelves royaliſts, as they had been when they were Jacobins. Such, in my opinion, was our new aſſociate and his friends. I therefore formed, in the inſtant, a reſolution never more to meet him at the committee. M. de Montmorin perceived, by my looks, what paſſed in my mind, and therefore when the gentleman propoſed to fix the day, the hour, the place of our next meeting, he told him that care would be taken to give him

notice: but he never received another ſummons.

I informed the king of our motives for not chooſing to have any further communication with this perſon, and his majeſty approved of them.

In the meanwhile the Jacobins were continually projecting the means of exciting a new inſurrection, of a more deciſive kind than that of the 20th of June. The 29th of July was fixed upon for its execution. Their deſign was the murder of the royal family, or at leaſt to dethrone and impriſon the king. The plan was as follows:

Three hundred men were to aſſemble at the mayor's hotel, on the pretence of guarding Petion from a ſuppoſed plot againſt his life, but, in reality, to prevent him from going to the chateau, where the duties of his office would have called him at the hour of the inſurrection, which was to be begun in the Fauxbourgs, during the blockade of his houſe. The inſurgents

were

were then to march in great force to the Carouſel, with the cannon and all the gunners who could be aſſembled, all this on pretence of protecting the brave Petion, and exterminating the conſpirators, who, as was aſſerted, were concealed in the caſtle.

I was luckily informed of all the above particulars on the 19th of July, and inſtantly gave an account of the project to the king, ſtrongly urging the neceſſity of his taking immediate meaſures for his ſafety. I adviſed him, for one thing, to leave Paris, adding, that I would conſult that very day with Meſſrs. Montmorin and Malouet, and ſend him the plan for his eſcape, which appeared to us the leaſt dangerous; that in the meanwhile I would employ every practicable means of overſetting the ſcheme of the Jacobins, or at leaſt of getting its execution poſtponed long enough to give his majeſty time to take the neceſſary ſteps for his departure.

The means which appeared to me moſt effectual for averting that execrable plot,

was

was to lay it open immediately by publiſhing all the particulars in a great number of pamphlets, which I accordingly cauſed to be diſtributed with profuſion in the capital, but particularly in the Fauxbourgs, under the titles of "A horrible plot againſt Petion; new conſpiracies againſt the national repreſentation; the falſe *ſans culottes* unmaſked," &c. &c. But as I knew that the populace, though they ſeldom read pamphlets, devoured all the placarts which are ſtuck on the walls, and particularly *the Friend of the Citizens*, by Tallien, printed on yellow paper; and *the Sentinelle*, by Louvet, on blue: imitating as much as I could the violently patriotic ſtyle of the latter, I cauſed all the above particulars to be printed on the ſame paper, and in the ſame character, intitling the compoſition, *Sentinelle*, No. 42.; and made them all be paſted upon No. 41, wherever it had been fixed by Louvet's directions the foregoing day; by which means my hiſtory of the conſpiracy had been read by all Paris before the Jacobins had time to tear it from the

the walls. I had foreſeen that this would be the fate of my paper; and therefore had directed the firſt third of the falſe Sentinelle to be numbered 42, the ſecond 43, and the third 44; and gave orders that Louvet's two ſucceeding Sentinelle's ſhould be covered as ſoon as they appeared, by the ſame paper, but marked with different numbers from that which had been paſted on the firſt.

I had recommended to the *Juge de Paix*, Buob, to ſend people who could be depended upon, to ſtand at a convenient diſtance from thoſe employed in ſticking up the placarts, leſt they ſhould be diſturbed in the execution of their orders. That precaution was not unneceſſary, as ſeveral of them were attacked by the ſpies of the Jacobins, and blows were given and received on both ſides. One of my agents had three of his teeth broken, but was quite conſoled on receiving an aſſignat of a hundred livres. The oppoſition was ſo violent as to prevent my placart of No. 44. from being paſted up. Where-

ever

ever it was attempted, the force of the Jacobins was found to be ſuperior. One of thoſe employed by me to paſte placarts, was taken up and conducted before the judge of the peace; but, as he knew not the perſon who had given him the paper, the judge could draw no eſſential information from him.

He depoſed, that a perſon unknown had propoſed to him, in the name of Louvet, to ſtick up thirty copies of the Sentinelle in thoſe ſtreets and alleys, of which the perſon gave him a liſt: that knowing *la Sentinelle du Peuple* to be a patriotic journal, he had, without ſcruple, undertaken the buſineſs, for which he was paid five ſols each placart.

The judge, after reading the ſpurious Sentinelle and the real one, declared that he could perceive no difference betwixt them either in ſtyle or principles: that they appeared to him equally good; and that he ſhould be at a loſs to ſay which was the moſt patriotic of the two: that conſequently the priſoner's miſtake was very

very excuſable, and he ought to be ſet at liberty.

I do not affirm that theſe pamphlets alone were the cauſe of preventing the inſurrection of the 29th of July; but they certainly contributed to that end.

The king, in his anſwer to my letter, entreating him to leave the capital, poſitively declared that he would not go any farther than twenty leagues; becauſe that diſtance was fixed upon by the conſtitution, which he had ſworn to obſerve; and, in the plan for his majeſty's eſcape, I had therefore had his ſcruples of conſcience as much in my eye as his ſafety.

M. Clermont Tonerre had for ſome days aſſiſted at our committees with the king's conſent: his zeal and clear underſtanding were highly uſeful to us in that important criſis. After profound deliberation with him, and Meſſrs. de Montmorin and Malouet, I drew up the following plan:

"The caſtle of Gaillon in Normandy appears the moſt eligible place as a temporary retreat for their majeſties: the building

ing is ſpacious, the park very extenſive, and it is exactly at the diſtance of twenty leagues from Paris.

" This place unites to the many advantages of the ſituation, that of being only thirty-ſix miles from the ſea on the Honfleur road, and fifty miles on the ſide of Fecamp; conſequently, a ſecure and eaſy means of retreat will be open to the royal family in caſe of their being purſued by the Jacobins. M. Miſtral, *Commiſſaire de la Marine* at Havre de Grace, who is a zealous royaliſt, will always have a veſſel in readineſs to ſail at an hour's notice.

" Beſides, I am aſſured, that the people in that part of Normandy are particularly well diſpoſed to the king.

" It will not be difficult for the royal family to eſcape from the *Chateau* at midnight, and paſs through the intendant of the civil liſt's hotel, which communicates with the palace by the great gallery of the *Louvre*, from which it is ſeparated by an old wooden partition, and guarded during the night by a ſingle ſentinel only, whom it

it will be eaſy to ſet aſleep by drink or opium.

" On that evening M. de la Porte will invite no company to ſupper excepting Meſſrs. de Montmorin and Clermont Tonnerre, who will come in plain coaches, without arms, drawn each by two horſes only. As the ſame number is uſually every night at the gate of M. de la Porte's hotel, for the uſe of thoſe who ſup with him, theſe two coaches cannot poſſibly attract attention; they will be occupied by the royal family, madame de Tourzel, and two waiting women. M. Clermont Tonnerre will get up behind the one, dreſſed in a grey coat; and an officer of the diſbanded guards, in the ſame dreſs, will go behind the other.

" The king and queen will ſeat themſelves in the back ſeat, in order to be the leſs expoſed to obſervation.

" To avoid the Fauxbourgs, and get out of Paris as ſoon as poſſible, they will paſs through the Boulevards, and go out by the *Barriere blanche*, which is leſs carefully guarded than the others; they will go by

the *rue de Clichi* into the road of St. Denis.

" The execution of the decree which reunited the Swiſs guards to the troops of the line, furniſh additional means of ſecurity upon the road. For this purpoſe, the commander of the Swiſs guard ſhall regulate their march by the following inſtructions, which he will receive from the miniſter:

" Firſt. A detachment of fifty men ſhall leave Paris at ſuch a time as to arrive at the *Barriere blanche* at the ſame time with the king, in order to divert the attention of the ſentinel, or of the guard of that *barriere*, and preclude every obſtacle to his paſſage.

" Secondly. A detachment of 1500 Swiſs ſhall ſet off from Courbevoye, ſo as to be at St. Denis ſix hours before the king paſſes; and as great a number as poſſible of the ſoldiers of this detachment ſhall be quartered in the ſtreet through which the great road runs, having orders to hold themſelves in readineſs to ſet off at one

o'clock in the morning: that in caſe of a check, they may be prepared to obey the firſt ſignal given them by their commanding officer, who ought to be intruſted with the ſecret as ſoon as he arrives at St. Denis, and receive inſtructions to ſecure a ſafe retreat for their majeſties, and to follow the coaches as ſoon as they paſs.

"Thirdly. A ſecond detachment of 550 men to ſet off from Courbevoye, ſo as to be at Franconville ſix hours before the king paſſes; and the ſame orders to be given to the officer of that detachment as to the officer at St. Denis.

"Fourthly. The laſt detachment, conſiſting of a thouſand men, ought to be at Pontoiſe ſix hours before the king, in readineſs to follow with the other detachments.

"All the officers and ſoldiers of the king's horſe-guards being ſtill at Paris, M. d'Hervilly declares, that he only requires twelve hours previous notice to reaſſemble them at Verſailles about midnight,

to ſeize their horſes in the king's ſtables, and afterwards to lead them to any part of the road which his majeſty ſhall appoint.

" The two coaches to change horſes at half a league beyond St. Denis. Part of the guard may be in waiting for the king at that place, and follow the coaches, while the remaining diviſion may proceed directly to Triel.

" From Pontoiſe to Gaillon, the king's retreat will be ſecured by detachments from two Swiſs regiments employed in the department of the *Baſſe Seine*, who are extremely well diſpoſed to his majeſty: theſe detachments ſhall proceed on the ſame rout with the coaches after they have paſſed.

" Their majeſties may ſtop for a day and a night at the caſtle of Vernon, to give time for the neceſſary furniture to be carried to the caſtle of Gaillon, in caſe that the furniture which was in it has been ſold, as there is reaſon to believe.

" Thoſe

"Thoſe of the king and queen's houſehold, whom they deſire to have with them, will receive ſecret orders to follow, twelve hours after the king's departure from Paris, and take with them, with every neceſſary precaution, whatever linen and cloaths their majeſties may require. Confidential couriers muſt be eſtabliſhed at proper places on the road, that his majeſty may be informed every hour of the ſtate of the capital, of the meaſures of the aſſembly, &c. &c. Thoſe couriers may be choſen from the diſbanded foot-guards who remain in Paris.

"As ſoon as the royal family ſhall arrive at Gaillon, the king will write to the aſſembly, the municipality, and to all the departments, informing them of the circumſtances and motives which have obliged him to withdraw from Paris.

"A fair repreſentation of the inſults the royal family were ſubjected to, and the imminent dangers which threatened them, cannot fail to juſtify his majeſty's conduct;

and ſuch a ſtatement may poſſibly make a ſalutary impreſſion on the minds of the people.

" M. de Montmorin, as well as myſelf, hope that his majeſty will permit us to follow, or to go before him."

I did not draw up the above plan until I had conſulted M. d'Hervilly reſpecting the military operations in which he was to act a principal part: he approved of it entirely. In my letter to the king, which accompanied the plan, I entreated him to conſider the urgent and great dangers to which not only himſelf, but all his family ſtood expoſed: I repreſented to him, that there remained no other method of ſecuring him againſt thoſe dangers, but ſuch a meaſure as was now propoſed; and that there was not a moment to loſe, unleſs he was determined to abdicate the crown, according to the advice which he was ſaid to have received from many reſpectable perſons ſincerely attached to him; particularly M. Maleſherbes. That however great

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my repugnance was to ſuch a meaſure, my well-grounded apprehenſions for his majeſty's life would have prompted me to adviſe the ſame, if I were not convinced that the above plan for his leaving Paris would be equally ſafe, and in my humble opinion more becoming.

CHAP. XXXI.

The king approves of our plan for his eſcape. —M. Lefort, marechal de camp, is ſent to Gaillon to examine its poſition.—The dukes of Chatelet and Liancourt make offer of conſiderable ſums of money to his majeſty. —Letter from the deputies Vergniaux, Guadet, and Genſonné to the king, which he returns to them without taking any advantage of it.—Converſation with M. Maleſherbes on the ſubject of this letter.—Plan of the Girondiſts.

I SUGGESTED to the king, that before the plan for his departure was ultimately adopted; and while the neceſſary preparations were making for its execution, that it would be prudent to ſend a faithful and experienced officer into Normandy, unknown in that province: that he would find no difficulty in obtaining the permiſſion of the directory of the department to

ſee the caſtle; particularly if he announces a deſign to purchaſe it: that he muſt carefully examine the ſituation, and the means of defence of which it is ſuſceptible; and ſee whether it would be practicable to obtain aſſiſtance, if neceſſary, from Rouen: that he muſt be directed, at the ſame time, to employ all his circumſpection and addreſs in ſounding the ſentiments of the chief members of that department, and the municipality, reſpecting their attachment to his majeſty; and, above all, the general diſpoſition of the troops.

I propoſed that M. Lefort, *marechal de camp*, ſhould be entruſted with this commiſſion: the king was acquainted with that gentleman's talents and his zeal. He was great grandſon to the celebrated Lefort, diſtinguiſhed in Ruſſia by the confidence and friendſhip of the Czar Peter the Great.

After communicating the plan to the queen, and reflecting upon it two days, the king approved of it, and of immediately ſending M. Lefort to Normandy. But he

obſerved, that it was firſt of all neceſſary to procure money: that he was far from being in poſſeſſion of a ſufficient ſum, the civil liſt being exhauſted. I immediately communicated this anſwer to M. Montmorin, who told me, that the duke du Chatelet had informed him confidentially, that for theſe two months paſt he had kept a million in reſerve to offer the king whenever he ſtood in need of it; that ſum therefore might be counted upon. I had, on my own part, already ſecured of my own fortune, and from other hands, the ſum of 600,000 livres; and I had hopes of aſſiſtance from the duke de Liancourt, who had frequently aſſured me, that he was ready to convert his whole lands into ready money for the king's uſe, reſerving only a hundred guineas a year for his own immediate ſubſiſtence. He had already lent his majeſty 190,000 livres upon my receipt, and had promiſed me 900,000 livres about the beginning of Auguſt. I informed the king of theſe reſources, which, with the ſum of 6 or 700,000 livres in aſſignats, and 5000 louis d'or

d'or that the king had by him, made up about three millions. I urged the importance of not deferring M. Lefort's miſſion, and the king authoriſed me to ſend him off next day.

At this time the Girondiſts had the greateſt influence in the aſſembly, as well as in the Jacobin club. Among the chiefs of this party were Vergniaud, Gaudet, and Genſonné. The plan for a ſecond inſurrection was their work; and although they had not yet ventured to put it into execution, their deſign was not abandoned. It was publicly announced that this inſurrection would certainly take place ſome time before the 15th of Auguſt. The three deputies above-mentioned commiſſioned one Boſe, a painter, to deliver to Thierry, the king's *valet de chambre*, a ſealed packet, containing a letter to the king, which Thierry was required, on his reſponſibility, to deliver into his majeſty's own hands.

By this letter, which was ſigned by thoſe three deputies, it was declared to the king,

" that the diſcontents of the people were ready to break out in a very terrible manner; that an inſurrection, much more conſiderable and violent than that of the 20th of June, was already planned, and ready to burſt forth at the firſt ſignal; that it would take place in leſs than a fortnight, and the dethroning of his majeſty was the mildeſt conſequence it would have; that his only means of avoiding this cataſtrophe was to recall Roland, Servan, and Claviere to the miniſtry, in eight days at fartheſt; that if the king would conſent, and give them his word, they would pledge their heads to prevent the inſurrection from taking place."

The king, after reading this imprudent and inſolent letter, returned it to Thierry, whom he blamed for having received it, and ordered him to give it back, and to tell Boſe, that no anſwer could be made to ſuch a propoſal.

Unfortunately the king, on this occaſion, only conſulted the natural generoſity of his diſpoſition. His extreme goodneſs

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even extended to the wicked, and always prevented him from turning againſt them thoſe arms with which they themſelves furniſhed him. If the king had ſent a copy of this letter, atteſted by all the miniſters, to the aſſembly, another to the municipality, and one to each of the departments; had copies of the ſame been diſtributed in Paris, and in the principal cities throughout the kingdom, it would have made ſuch an impreſſion as would have occaſioned a general riſing againſt the Jacobins. I would moſt certainly have ſuggeſted the above meaſure to the king, had not the letter been returned before I knew of it. However there was one advantage ſtill to be derived from it, namely by employing it as a proof, to the aſſembly, and to all France, that a conſpiracy of the moſt dangerous nature was in exiſtence; and that to withdraw himſelf from the conſequence was the ſole motive of his leaving Paris. His majeſty's aſſertion would have been ſufficient, with the atteſtation of Boſe, Thierry, and thoſe to whom he had ſhewn the letter, to have convinced

convinced the moſt incredulous of the public.

Four days after this event, M. de Maleſherbes came to my houſe at nine o'clock in the morning, and told me that he wiſhed to ſpeak to me on a very ſerious ſubject, which particularly intereſted the king, and in which he had been applied to, becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have always kept up a correſpondence with his majeſty; adding, that notwithſtanding of his having declared that this was a miſtake, ſtill they had perſiſted to inform him, in the hopes that he would find means of acquainting the king.

"I went yeſterday," continued M. Maleſherbes, "to M. de Montmorin, and acquainted him with this whole affair: but he has ſent me to you. The buſineſs, in ſhort, is this *: Two perſons, whoſe names I muſt

* The veneration which M. de Maleſherbes has engrafted on his memory, by his generous defence of the king, which coſt him and his family their lives, ſtrongly induces me to give the whole of an extract I kept of this converſation, which is intereſting, from the characteriſtic peculiarities it contains of that venerable martyr to humanity and loyalty. All who have been acquainted with M. de Maleſherbes muſt remember,

I muſt not mention, having given my word of honour that I would not, came to me yeſterday morning, and told me, after a long preamble unneceſſary to repeat, that the chiefs of that party, who had, at preſent, the moſt influence, had charged them to inform me, under a promiſe of ſecrecy, that in a very few days an inſurrection would take place; that the people of Paris, headed by the Marſeillois, and ſupported by the national guards would march in a body againſt the Thuilleries; that the king's life was in the utmoſt danger; that

remember, that the ſubject on which he was the moſt eager to ſpeak was that on which he ſpoke the leaſt. Few men had read and meditated more, and few retained more of what they had read, than him. His head was full of ideas, anecdotes, and knowledge of various kinds, which his vivacity prevented him from arranging. His converſation might be compared to the continual and irregular overflowing of a veſſel of boiling liquor. During my miniſtry, he once deſired a meeting with me, to recommend the huſband of his grand-daughter for a particular office. Our converſation continued an hour, during which he ſpoke of a thouſand different ſubjects, but not a word of his grandſon. He was taking his leave, when I put him in mind, that in the note he had ſent, deſiring this rendezvous, he had hinted that he wiſhed to talk to me concerning one of his near relations.

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even if he eſcaped the ſword of the aſſaſſins, it would be impoſſible for the aſſembly to ſave him, and appeaſe the populace any other way than by dethroning him; that the king had no other means of overſetting this horrible plot than by recalling Roland, Claviere, and Servan directly to the miniſtry; and that every perſon intereſted in him ought to adviſe him to adopt that meaſure."

I told M. de Maleſherbes that the king had received the ſame information and propoſition from three conſiderable deputies of the aſſembly; that he had rejected it with diſdain; and that I had no doubt but that he would do the ſame to this new propoſal.

"I do not ſay that it is my opinion he ought to do otherwiſe," ſaid M. de Maleſherbes, with his uſual vivacity; "I am very glad that I am not to adviſe him in this matter: but if the king required of me to give him my advice, it would be to act as he has done; for thus much I may ſay, without betraying the ſecret entruſted to

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me, that the warmth with which this affair was mentioned to me ſeemed to ariſe from a ſource no way connected with any anxiety for the king. I do not doubt but there is ſome dirty finance buſineſs under it, and that Claviere has promiſed a great deal of money to theſe gentlemen. However I thought the circumſtances too ſerious to be concealed from his majeſty. I did not know that he had received the letter you ſpeak of. It is what I never ſhould have imagined. The poor king! how I pity him! He will hardly, I fear, eſcape theſe villains; and it is much to be regretted, for he is undoubtedly a worthy and moſt reſpectable prince. But you have probably remarked one thing, M. Bertrand, that in certain ſituations, ſuch as the preſent, for example, the virtues of private life, carried a certain length, become almoſt vices upon a throne. They may be excellent for the next world. I am willing to believe ſo: but they are of no value here. This reflection is melancholy: but, alas! it is too juſt. So I find that you have kept up a correſpondence with our good king. I

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am glad of it. You are happy in being young enough to be uſeful to him. As for me, I am too old to ſerve him: but ever ſince I had the opportunity of appreciating his good qualities, I have been warmly attached to him. I go conſtantly to the levee every Sunday, although I hate to dreſs, and, above all, to wear this confounded ſword, which contrives continually to get betwixt my legs, and I fear will one day or other be the cauſe of my breaking my neck. But I wear it every Sunday notwithſtanding, becauſe my greateſt comfort through the whole week is the recollection that I had ſeen the worthy prince in good health. I never preſs near enough to be ſpoken to: but that does not ſignify; it is ſatisfaction enough to have ſeen him, and he appears to be always very well pleaſed to ſee me. He always treated me with peculiar kindneſs during my being in the adminiſtration. He was ſometimes entertained with my anecdotes. You muſt have been much ſurpriſed to ſee how much his character riſes on being known, and how greatly he has been miſrepreſented

mated by thoſe who are unacquainted with him. I never knew a perſon of a ſounder underſtanding. Have you not obſerved, that in the council he never miſtakes the beſt opinion? Let me aſſure you, that is very uncommon. Do not you imagine, that if he had had the ſame kind of education that we have had; if he had been habituated, as we were, to overcome natural diffidence by public exerciſes in the college, he would eaſily have become a great king? for you know that exceſſive timidity is his principal failing. And even as he is, I am convinced that, with good miniſters, his reign would have been one of the happieſt of our monarchy; for it is impoſſible to love virtue more, or to have a greater deſire of doing good than he has. What do you think?"

"I think, ſir," anſwered I, "that it would have been fortunate for him if he had always had miniſters ſuch as you."

"Not ſo fortunate as you imagine," anſwered the good old man. "No, no; do not deceive yourſelf. I was a very bad

miniſter. Indeed I never wiſhed for power, nor to be a miniſter. I was puſhed into that ſituation I cannot well tell why, nor how: but I ſuſpect it was owing to a reputation greatly above my merit, and for which I was indebted to accidental circumſtances. I told both the king and M. Turgot, that they could not poſſibly make a worſe choice, for I was too old; my poor faculties began to be exhauſted; that all I could now offer for his majeſty's ſervice was integrity and *bonhommie*, two qualities inſufficient of themſelves to conſtitute even an indifferent miniſter. All I could urge was to no purpoſe. Every body perſiſted, and I was obliged to yield. But the day on which I was relieved of that burthen appeared to me the happieſt of my life. I do not pretend to ſay that I could have ſupported it much better when I was young. My head was too ardent. I was always fond of ſtudy, or rather of ſtudies; for I attempted a variety at once: but I always hated what is called buſineſs, becauſe it requires a kind of ſteady application that I

could not bear. Although well acquainted with books, I was ignorant of men, and a ſtranger to the ways of the court; and without a complete knowledge of both, it is impoſſible for a man of probity, who regards reputation, to remain in adminiſtration. Do you know that one of the moſt fatal defects of our government is, that it is impoſſible for the king, let him be ever ſo well diſpoſed, to be certain, when he names a miniſter, that he has made a good choice? He has no means of inveſtigating the talents and capacities of thoſe who are propoſed to him, but is forced to truſt to the account he receives from the people about him. And it frequently happens, that a perſon is recommended to him as a man of talents, who has none but thoſe for intrigue, and who is capable of little elſe beſides beſtowing places and penſions on the creatures of of the favourite, or of ſome particular lady the court; perhaps, the miſtreſs of one of the princes, or miniſters. The reign of ſuch miniſters, it is true, is but of ſhort duration: but thoſe who ſucceed, being

choſen in the like manner, are ſeldom any better, and ſometimes worſe. What I have ſaid of the miniſters, may be alſo ſaid of all who are appointed to any place or employment of ſmaller importance. In this manner governments are overſet, and revolutions brought on. I know that the defect I have mentioned does not neceſſarily adhere to our government; and without altering any part of the conſtitution, it would be poſſible to prevent intrigue and favour from influencing, in any manner, the nomination to places and employments; and all that is requiſite for bringing about this important alteration, would be to re-eſtabliſh, with ſome improvements, the ancient form of election, and to extend it to all the places and offices of importance in the government; which the king might do, if he pleaſed to inſiſt with firmneſs upon it. But there lies the difficulty. Nothing is more rare than firmneſs of reſolution in kings. But in your company I forget myſelf. I make you loſe your time. You are going, no doubt, to write to his majeſty; in caſe he ſhould happen

happen to alter his reſolution, reſpecting the recalling of the three miniſters, you will be ſo good as to ſend me word "

The moment M. de Maleſherbes left me, I ſet down this converſation, which gives ſo juſt an idea of the goodneſs, candour, and integrity of that reſpectable and excellent man. He remained with me nearly two hours. I have only retrenched the too flattering eulogiums he was pleaſed to beſtow upon me, and the epiſodes and numerous anecdotes with which his converſation was interſperſed.

I gave the king an account of the alarming information which I had received from M. de Maleſherbes, and informed his majeſty, at the ſame time, that I ſhould receive, in the courſe of the day, the whole of the 600,000 livres which I had undertaken to procure for him; and that I was already in poſſeſſion of 400,000 livres of that ſum. The king wrote the following anſwer in the margin of my letter:

" I can never alter my determination reſpecting the propoſal made me by the chiefs of

the Gironde party; but I am not the leſs affected by the zeal which M. de Maleſherbes has manifeſted, and I deſire you will tell him ſo. To-morrow I ſhall ſend you, by M. de ———, my receipt for the 600,000 livres. You will write on the receipt the amount of the intereſt, according to the conditions on which the money was lent."

Accordingly the very next day M. de ——— brought me the receipt, dated the 29th of July. He had another for a million of livres, which he was to deliver to M. de Montmorin.

I informed M. de Maleſherbes of the anſwer I had received from the king; and four days after I was acquainted, that a meeting had been held at Charenton, compoſed of the moſt violent revolutioniſts in the aſſembly, and of the Jacobins; that the projected inſurrection was ultimately fixed for the 9th or 10th of Auguſt; that after having plundered the palace, and forced the king to take refuge in the aſſembly, the populace were to demand his depoſition

depoſition in a ſtile ſo threatening that the aſſembly would not dare to refuſe.

The chiefs of the Gironde faction, who had planned the inſurrection, did not at that time intend to overſet the monarchy; their deſign was to dethrone the king, and make the crown paſs to his ſon, and to eſtabliſh a council of regency, which they would have compoſed of their creatures, over whom they would always have had ſufficient influence to obtain whatever money or employments they demanded. But as they knew that it is eaſier to excite a violent inſurrection, than to moderate it, or preſcribe its bounds, ſo as to obtain the preciſe object they had in view, they were inclined to have relinquiſhed their plan, on condition that the king would have agreed to recall the three miniſters, who were too much devoted to them to have refuſed them any thing; from which motive they wrote to his majeſty, and applied to M. de Maleſherbes.

M. Lefort was only expected from Normandy on the 5th of Auguſt. I went the

day before to M. de Montmorin's, to ſettle matters ultimately for the king's departure. I there found Meſſrs. de Clermont Tonnerre, Malouet, and Lally Tolendal, who were in the ſecret. It was agreed upon, that Meſſrs. Montmorin and Clermont Tonnerre ſhould each furniſh a coach drawn by two horſes, in which they were to come to M. de la Porte's to ſupper on the evening fixed upon for the departure of the royal family; that M. de Montmorin and me were each of us to ſend four good horſes to Pierrefite, a ſmall village half a league beyond St. Denis, where a friend of mine was to go on horſeback to wait the king's arrival, and then to ſet off immediately to give notice to the officers commanding the poſts of the Swiſs guards all along the road to Triel. He was provided, as well as myſelf, with a paſſport for the interior parts of the kingdom. I adviſed M. de Montmorin to get one immediately.

"It is rather a paſſport for the other world that I ſtand in need of," ſaid he, with

with a look ſo very mournful, that it made me ſhudder.

"What do you mean?" ſaid I, looking at him with inquietude. "Do you feel yourſelf unwell?"

"Not at all," anſwered he: "but I am convinced that all thoſe precautions are uſeleſs; for I am perſuaded I ſhall never eſcape thoſe who are determined to have my life."

"How can you have ſuch a conviction?" anſwered I. "I have the ſame enemies with you. They are even more enraged againſt me, yet I believe I ſhall eſcape."

"I hope you will," replied he: "but as for myſelf, I am convinced that I ſhall be aſſaſſinated in leſs than three months."

"I cannot, indeed, anſwer for what may happen," ſaid I, "if you give yourſelf ſo much up to thoſe diſmal ideas, as to take no precaution againſt the danger which hangs over us all."

"Precautions are uſeleſs," ſaid he. "I have long had this preſage. I ſubmit to my fate; but I ſhall, to my lateſt breath,

employ

employ every means in my power to ſave the king, if it be yet poſſible to ſave him."

"Yes, undoubtedly it is poſſible," ſaid I; "unleſs he allows himſelf to be diſcouraged by preſages alſo."

"Be aſſured," anſwered M. de Montmorin, "that it is not courage in which I am deficient. I now fear death much leſs than I do life."

This ſad impreſſion had taken ſuch deep root in his mind, that all I could ſay to diſſipate it, was in vain; and I only obtained his promiſe that he would procure a paſſport for himſelf before the end of the day.

MADAME ROYALE

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CHAP. XXXII.

Return of M. Lefort from Normandy.—I tranſmit his report to the king, begging that his majeſty would fix on the day of his departure as ſoon as poſſible, and to give the neceſſary orders to the commanding officer of the Swiſs, that he would carefully burn all papers relative to the ſecret expences of the civil liſt.—The king changes his reſolution.—My repreſentation on that ſubject.—The king's anſwer.—The queen's prejudices againſt the duke of Liancourt.—His conduct towards the king.—A project of Madame Stael.—Tenth of Auguſt.—M. d'Hervilly.

ON the firſt Sunday in Auguſt I went to the levee, according to my uſual cuſtom, in ſpite of the extreme difficulty I found in walking, upon account of an abſceſs in my thigh. The court was never more

more brilliant, or rather never more numerous, than on that day. The inquietude which the king and queen's ſituation inſpired, and the grief, from the idea that it might be the laſt time they ſhould ever ſee their ſovereign, was ſtrongly expreſſed in the countenances of many preſent. I could not long ſupport this affecting ſcene. I left the palace, my eyes running over with tears; yet I was far from imagining, at that moment, that I had ſeen the royal family for the laſt time.

M. Lefort arrived late that ſame night, and came to my houſe next morning, being the 6th of Auguſt, at ſeven o'clock. He gave me the moſt ſatisfying account of his miſſion. His report was contained in four pages of ſmall writing. It was in ſubſtance as follows:

"That the ſituation of Gaillon was in all reſpects as advantageous as could be deſired for a reſidence of a few days; that three thouſand good troops would be ſufficient to put the caſtle out of danger from a *coup de main*; that the furniture had been

ſold

ſold and carried off; but in a few hours all that their majeſties would require, could be had from Rouen; that the opinion of the people in Normandy, and particularly at Rouen, was entirely in favour of the king; that the department and municipality were compoſed of worthy, reaſonable people, who, in yielding to the revolution, continued to love the king, whom they would aſſiſt as much as lay in their power, though they hoped that his majeſty would not be obliged to take refuge in Rouen, becauſe they dreaded, above all things, having their town beſieged by the Pariſians; that the two Swiſs regiments in Normandy were excellent, and might be truſted; that the troops of the line employed in that department, were alſo well inclined to the king; that the ſoldiers had expreſſed themſelves with indignation upon the inſurrection of the 20th of June, and that they would not heſitate to declare openly for the king, if his majeſty was threatened with new dangers, and ſhewed confidence in them."

After

After converſing upwards of an hour with M. Lefort, I ſent his relation to the king, ſtrongly urging the neceſſity of his majeſty's immediately fixing the day of his departure, and, at the ſame time, giving the neceſſary orders to the officers who commanded the Swiſs guard, that if things could be ſo ordered, that the different detachments could reach their deſtined poſts on the 7th, the king might ſet out that ſame night, or, at fartheſt, the night following.

At all events I beſought his majeſty to give M. d'Hervilly and me our definitive orders as ſoon as poſſible, that we might have time to arrange our reſpective meaſures, and that I might ſet out with M. de Montmorin, and wait for the royal family at whatever place his majeſty ſhould appoint. I reminded the king, in this letter, of the advice which I had already given him; namely, to recommend to M. de la Porte, to burn every paper and document relative to the ſecret expences of the civil liſt, before his departure; for it was indiſpenſably neceſſary for him

him to leave Paris at the ſame time with the Royal family; it being evident, that he could not remain in Paris without the utmoſt danger; and that all his papers would be examined by the orders of the aſſembly as ſoon as the king's departure ſhould be known.

I did not doubt but that I ſhould immediately receive an anſwer from the king to my letter; and I waited for it all the morning with extreme impatience. The gentleman whom I had entruſted with the letter, did not return from the palace till one o'clock in the forenoon: he told me that the king had deſired him to go back for an anſwer at five.

I was not alarmed at this delay, as I ſuppoſed that his majeſty only deferred the anſwer until he could inform me of the arrangements he had made with the commanding officer of the Swiſs, and his ultimate intentions reſpecting various meaſures preparatory to his journey; but, at ſix o'clock, my hopes vaniſhed, when my meſſenger returned from the palace with an

order

order from the king and queen to ſuſpend the preparations for their departure till farther notice; as it was their majeſties intentions to reſerve that ſtep for the laſt extremity.

Theſe fatal words were like a thunderbolt to me. "What do they mean by the laſt extremity?" cried I, with as much rage as deſpair. "Who can the idiots or traitors be, who have ſuggeſted ſuch a pernicious reſolution?"

I hurried to the houſe of M. de Montmorin, to inform him of this diſaſtrous anſwer, and to entreat that he would go and expoſtulate with the king, or write that evening to him in the ſtrongeſt manner; and, if poſſible, bring him back to the only meaſure which could ſave him.

"I could not go to the palace at preſent," ſaid he, "without being remarked, and giving riſe to ſuſpicion; therefore I ſhall write, but without hopes of ſucceſs, becauſe I am ſure that they are ſwayed by different counſel than ours. The king is ruined, my friend, and ſo are we all. You

laughed at me ſix months ago, when I told you that it would come to a republic: you will find that I was not deceived; I believe it is at no great diſtance: perhaps it will not laſt long; but that will depend upon the fate of the king. If he is aſſaſſinated, the republic will certainly be of ſhort duration; but if he ſhall be formally tried, and conſequently condemned, you will not have the monarchy ſo ſoon re-eſtabliſhed. As for me, I ſhall never ſee it."

"You have ſtill the ſame fatal forebodings," ſaid I.

"Yes, undoubtedly," anſwered he.

"Why will you then remain in Paris?" reſumed I, "if the king reſolves againſt leaving it, you can be no longer uſeful to him, as you have no charge. I aſſure you, that if I was in your place, and affected in the manner you are, I would ſet off to-morrow, either with the king, if he can be prevailed upon to go, or without him, if he cannot."

"That I never will do," anſwered M. de Montmorin: "what the king's de-

terminations are, I ſhall adhere to him till the laſt moment. I never can conſent to ſeparate my fate from his. Your ſituation is different; you have always been conſidered as a royaliſt; whereas I am looked upon here as a conſtitutionaliſt, and at Coblentz as a Jacobin. The king alone knows my conduct, my motives, and the proofs of attachment I have given him: he alone can declare that I have always ſerved him faithfully: if that laſt reſource is taken from me, I ſhall have nothing to oppoſe to thoſe prejudices which would render my life inſupportable; ſo, if he ſtays in Paris, I ſtay alſo, happen what may. I am now going to write to him."

M. de Montmorin accordingly wrote to the king that night; and the next day I alſo wrote a long letter, in which I endeavoured to paint, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the inevitable cataſtrophe to which he not only expoſed himſelf, but his whole family, placing in various lights the impoſſibility of his avoiding deſtruction, otherwiſe than by flight. I entreated his majeſty to conſider

that

that this reſource was ſtill open to him, provided that not a moment was loſt; but to-morrow it would perhaps be too late. I added, that in caſe he had adopted another plan which he did not think proper to entruſt me with, I hoped his majeſty would remember that I had only remained in France in order to ſerve him; and that he would, therefore, condeſcend to let me know by what means I could be uſeful to him. My letter was returned that evening with the following anſwer on the margin:

"I am aſſured, from good authority, that the inſurrection is not ſo near as you imagine; beſides, there are ſtill means of preventing, or at leaſt of retarding it; and I am taking meaſures for that purpoſe: it is only neceſſary to gain time. I have reaſons for believing that there is leſs danger in remaining than in flight. Continue your meaſures of vigilance, and continue to write to me regularly."

Soon after I went to M. de Montmorin, who had received no anſwer to his letter;

but he was poſitively informed that it was the queen who ſet his majeſty againſt the ſcheme of taking refuge in Gaillon, although ſhe had at firſt approved of it; but her diſtruſt of the loyalty of the duke de Liancourt, who commanded in that part of Normandy, afterwards determined her againſt that plan. "M. Bertrand does not conſider," ſhe ſaid, "that he is throwing us into the hands of conſtitutionaliſts."

Beſides, they had juſt heard that the Pruſſian army was in motion. Nobody doubted but that the duke of Brunſwick's plan was to march ſtraight to Paris; and it was thought, that the French army were too weak, and too ill commanded, to reſiſt the diſciplined Germans, led by ſo experienced a general; and that our troops would take flight at his approach. Some private adviſers of the queen wiſhed this too much not to believe it; and it was on theſe chimerical conjectures that the deluded court founded their hopes.

With reſpect to the duke de Liancourt, I had not become acquainted with him till

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the month of May 1792; and, till then, I never paid ſufficient attention to his conduct to enable me to form any judgment of it. He ſought my acquaintance, becauſe his aſſiduous attendance at the palace gave him an opportunity of knowing that I kept up a particular correſpondence with the king: the object of his firſt viſit, was to inform me of the means he had of ſerving his majeſty in Normandy, where he was then going. He had entirely gained the confidence of the regiments under his command there, as well as of the department and municipality: his deſign was to take every opportunity of rendering the Jacobins odious, oppoſing republican ideas, and ſtrengthening the attachment which prevailed in that province for the king and conſtitution.

The duke foreſaw that the king would be forced to leave the capital, and Normandy appeared to him the province in which his majeſty would be likely to meet with the moſt cordial reception, and where he would find himſelf in greateſt ſecurity. Beſides,

Normandy was the only province in which he could take refuge without paſſing the bounds preſcribed by the conſtitution. It was upon this occaſion that the duke de Liancourt told me, that if the king wanted money, as there was reaſon to fear would be the caſe, all his fortune, one hundred louis d'or a year excepted, was at his majeſty's diſpoſal; and that by giving him notice, only a fortnight beforehand, he could furniſh a million of livres at leaſt. The air of ſurpriſe with which I liſtened to this propoſal, affected him.

"You perhaps imagine as many others have done," ſaid he, "that I am a democrate, becauſe I was of the *Côté Gauche* in the aſſembly; but the king knows my motives for not being of the *Côté Droit;* and I acted with his approbation. I could have been of no uſe to him in uniting myſelf to the ariſtocratic party; an individual, more or leſs, would neither have rendered it ſtronger nor weaker. But, by gaining the confidence of the *Côté Gauche*, I had the means of knowing ſomething of the projects

jects of the Jacobins, and giving information to his majesty. I do not say that I did not desire some reformations in the government, which I thought would be useful; but I never wished for a revolution; and, although I was always on the *Côté Gauche*, I defy any one to say that I ever supported a violent motion, or endeavoured to carry a decree contrary to the king's real interest and legal authority, which I always distinguished from the bad use his ministers often made of it. I was blamed for having prevented the king from going off on the 14th of July 1789, and for advising him to go to the assembly; but who could have foreseen the fatal consequences of that measure? and these consequences may be, in a great degree, attributed to the many false and weak steps which accompanied it, in which I had no part. I advised his majesty, on that occasion, to the plan which, in his situation, I would have adopted myself; and, if I was deceived, the fault is in my judgment, but, assuredly, not in my heart, which, the king

knows, was, and ever will be ſincerely his."

I liſtened to this diſcourſe of the duke of Liancourt with pleaſure; and I can declare, and I ought to declare, becauſe it is truth, that in the whole courſe of my acquaintance with him, I have ever found his conduct conſiſtent with the ſentiments he then expreſſed. His zeal for the royal cauſe, and perſonal attachment to the king, were invariable. I ſaw him ſhed tears for the fate of that unfortunate prince a year after his death: he ſeemed entirely engroſſed by the deſire of juſtifying his memory. But no proof of attachment on the part of the duke de Liancourt can raiſe ſurpriſe after his having ſacrificed his perſonal conſideration, and the good opinion of almoſt all perſons of his own rank, by placing himſelf on the *Côté Gauche* of the firſt aſſembly, merely from a deſire of being uſeful to the king. It is true that I have no proof of this but his own word, and the firmneſs with which he invoked the king's teſtimony, deſiring me to inform

myſelf

myſelf from his majeſty; but I never ſpoke to the king upon the ſubject, becauſe it did not appear, at leaſt at that time, that he harboured any doubts reſpecting the ſincerity and loyalty of M. de Liancourt. I thought at the time, and ſtill continue to believe, that the queen's prepoſſeſſions againſt that nobleman, whether well founded or not, were a great misfortune, ſince they were the cauſe of her rejecting the only meaſure which could have prevented that dreadful cataſtrophe, which has proved ſo ſhocking to humanity, and ſo injurious to the honour of France.

The neceſſity of the king's departure from Paris was ſo generally felt, that various plans of evaſion were ſent to his majeſty; even madame de Stael, whether in the hopes of expiating the miſchief ſhe had, without intending it no doubt, done to the royal family by her intrigues, or, perhaps, from an itch of intriguing again, invented a plan for his majeſty's eſcape, which ſhe communicated to M. de Montmorin in a letter that he ſhewed me.

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The plan was as follows: The eſtate of Lamote, on the coaſt of Normandy, belonging to the duke of Orleans, was at this time to be ſold. Madame de Stael propoſed that ſhe ſhould publicly give out that ſhe had an intention to purchaſe it; and on this pretext, that ſhe ſhould make frequent journies to that place, always in the ſame carriage, and accompanied in the ſame manner; namely, a man of buſineſs, of the ſame ſize and ſhape with the king, dreſſed in a grey coat and a round periwig; a waiting-woman of the ſize and appearance of the queen, having her face partly concealed under a large bonnet, with a black gauze veil; a child of the age and figure of the dauphin; and a footman on horſeback. This laſt part was deſtined for M. de Narbonne. When theſe repeated journies had accuſtomed the maſters of the poſt-houſes and the poſtillions on the road to the appearance of madame de Stael and her travelling companions, ſo that they ſhould no longer excite much attention, ſhe propoſed that the places of the man of buſineſs, the waiting-

waiting-woman, and the child, ſhould be occupied by the king, queen, and dauphin, in the hopes that the three latter, paſſing for the former, would arrive ſafely at the caſtle of Lamote, where a fiſhing veſſel ſhould be in readineſs to tranſport them where they pleaſed.

The only preparation ſhe recommended, in caſe her plan was adopted, was to provide the bonnet and round wig; and ſhe made it an eſſential article that M. de Narbonne ſhould be included in the enterpriſe, becauſe ſhe conſidered his zeal and intelligence as neceſſary to inſure its ſucceſs. No proviſion was made for the ſafety of the princeſs royal nor madame Elizabeth: but indeed madame de Stael could hardly ſuppoſe that thoſe princeſſes would be expoſed to any danger by remaining in Paris.

This plan appeared to M. de Montmorin equally dangerous, romantic, and inconſiſtent with propriety; he therefore never mentioned it to the king, in the fear that his majeſty, who regarded Madame de Stael as extremely romantic and extravagant,

gant, would be ready to reject every future plan of eſcape as wild and extravagant, merely becauſe a ſimilar meaſure had been propoſed by her.

I have no doubt that at the time I received the order from his majeſty to ſuſpend the meaſures for his departure, he ſeriouſly thought of adopting another plan, which appeared ſo full of danger to madame Elizabeth, that ſhe ſent the baron de Gilliers to me on the 8th of Auguſt, at eleven o'clock at night, to know if I was the author of it; and to requeſt, in that caſe, that I would immediately put a ſtop to it. By what the baron de Gilliers ſaid, I found that this plan was different from mine. I therefore deſired he would tell madame Elizabeth from me, that, being convinced the king's departure was neceſſary, I had propoſed a plan which I was ſure would not have alarmed her: but that his majeſty, after having conſented to adopt it, had, to my great affliction, changed his mind, and taken a determination againſt leaving Paris,

I have

I have ſince learned, that the plan that had alarmed madame Elizabeth ſo greatly conſiſted in the royal family's eſcaping immediately to Compiegne, to enable them, in caſe of neceſſity, to withdraw out of the kingdom by the foreſt of the Ardennes and the principality of Beaumont. The count d'Hervilly, who was continually near the perſon of the king, had been acquainted, before I was, of his repugnance to the plan of eſcape by Gaillon, and his ardour to ſerve their majeſties had ſuggeſted to him this new ſcheme, which was known and agreed to at Coblentz, by the intermediation of a man of the firſt rank, who had gone on purpoſe, and who, paſſing through Bruſſels on his return, had the indiſcretion to mention it to a certain perſon, who, the very next day, made the whole be publiſhed in the Bruſſels Gazette, and thus prevented the poſſibility of its execution. I do not preſume to make any comment on this ſingular incident, which is of too ſerious a nature to name the perſon,

ſon, as I have only proofs of the fact, without knowing the motives.

Nothing could be more alarming than the continual reports I received at this time from Buob and Gilles, concerning the ſtate of the capital, and of the projects and manœuvres of the Jacobins. Already the day, the hour, and the plan of the inſurrection were fixed. The king was perfectly well informed of this, yet ſtill flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to prevent it, or make his eſcape. I have been ſince informed, that a negotiation had been ſet on foot with Briſſot, and that as late as the 9th of Auguſt, an agent, authoriſed by the king, was ſtill debating on the terms propoſed by that villain, who demanded no leſs, for preventing the execution of the conſpiracy, than 12,000,000 livres in ſpecie or in letters of exchange, and a paſſport to ſecure his ſafe retreat out of the kingdom. It is poſſible that theſe terms might have been gone into, if the ſum he demanded had been in the coffer of the civil

civil liſt; and it is more than probable that he would have carried the greater part of it out of the kingdom, and that the inſurrection would only have been deferred a few days.

My complaint having increaſed, I could neither walk nor endure the motion of a carriage on the 9th of Auguſt: but one of my friends, who was at the palace the whole day, gave me an exact account of every thing that paſſed there, and of all the meaſures taken for the ſecurity of the royal family. Thoſe battalions of national guards, who were on duty at the palace, were extremely well diſpoſed to the king. Their commanders and officers were entirely devoted to him. The Swiſs guards alſo were of approved bravery and fidelity. Thoſe troops were reinforced by gentlemen and royaliſts of every rank, whom the danger of the royal family drew in crowds to the palace. This united force would certainly have been able to have defended it until the arrival of the three thouſand

Swiſs from Courbevoye, if they had received timely orders to ſet off. But even on the 10th, when they *were* ſent for, if the king had remained in the palace until their arrival, which would have taken place ſoon after he went to the national aſſembly, he might have repelled the inſurrection of that fatal day; but giving way to ſolicitations, perhaps perfidious, unqueſtionably unfortunate, he ſought an aſylum among thoſe who were preparing a priſon, chains, and death for him and his family.

I ſhall not here go over the events of that day of blood, every moment of which was marked with innumerable crimes. They are too well known, and the recollection is too ſhocking to be dwelt upon. One circumſtance may ſerve as a proof of the illuſion in which the queen was, with reſpect to her ſituation, even when ſhe was in the *Loge du Logographe*. When the cannon were firing upon the palace, and in the midſt of the ferocious petitions for dethroning the king, her majeſty, relying upon the preſident's

preſident's ſpeech to the king, at his entrance, turned to count d'Hervilly, who was ſtanding behind her, and ſaid,

"Well, M. d'Hervilly, were we not in the right not to go away?"

"I wiſh, with all my heart, Madam," anſwered he, "that your majeſty may be of the ſame opinion ſix months hence."

M. d'Hervilly had more than one occaſion, on that fatal day, of diſplaying the heroic courage and energy of character for which he was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. Danger entirely diſappeared before his eyes, as often as any opportunity preſented itſelf which enabled him to prove his zeal and attachment to the king. That coolneſs and intrepidity will be long remembered which this gentleman manifeſted at the awful moment when the cannon were firing on the palace, which was defended only by that detachment of the Swiſs guards which had not received the orders not to fire, that had been left by the king when he went to the national aſſembly. The fire continuing, many of the deputies betrayed marks of

conſternation at the long reſiſtance, and complained that orders had not been given to the Swiſs not to fire; on which one of the miniſters declared, that an order to that effect had been given. It was immediately required, on all ſides, that this order might be renewed: but it was obſerved, that it would be impoſſible to convey ſuch an order to the palace, upon account of the continued fire on the part of the beſieged and the beſiegers. The king, who flattered himſelf that this new proof of his goodneſs and confidence in the aſſembly would induce it to treat him with more conſideration, was much afflicted at the obſtacle which prevented his ſending the order. M. d'Hervilly, being in the *Loge du Logographe* with the royal family, was convinced, that in coming there, the king had taken the worſt ſtep poſſible, that he would certainly be dethroned, and very poſſibly murdered, immediately offered to carry the order; determined, at the ſame time, to make uſe of it in the manner moſt conducive to the ſafety of the royal family. The king and

queen

queen were greatly affected at this proof of attachment; but, unwilling to expoſe the life of one of their moſt valuable and faithful ſervants, they ſeized his arm, to prevent him from withdrawing, preſſing his hands affectionately in theirs. Madame Elizabeth was impreſſed with the ſame ſentiments; and all three, with tears in their eyes, entreated him not to go. M. d'Hervilly, whoſe zeal was only the more animated by ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of regard, renewed his demand with earneſtneſs.

"I entreat your majeſties not to think of my danger," ſaid he; "it is my duty to brave it for your ſervice. My poſt is *aux coups de fuſil*; and if I feared them, I ſhould be unworthy of the name of a ſoldier."

Theſe words, pronounced in a manner the moſt capable of inſpiring confidence, and the murmurs which the king's irreſolution excited in the aſſembly, at length determined his majeſty to write the order, and deliver it to M. d'Hervilly.

M. de Vauzlemont, a young officer of the artillery, full of courage and ardour, who had belonged to the king's guard under the command of M. d'Hervilly, was at the door of the *loge*, and a witneſs to the above ſcene. He was that day in the uniform of the national grenadiers, which he always wore on thoſe occaſions, when he thought it moſt expedient for the king's ſervice. This gallant young man begged to be permitted to accompany his commanding officer, and to ſhare his dangers: but M. d'Hervilly expreſsly forbid him, ſaying, that his poſt was at the door of the king's lodge, which he ought not to quit. In ſpite of this, he perſiſted in following M. d'Hervilly, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of being his companion. When they arrived at the door of the hall, next to the convent of the Theatins, the national guards and armed mob, there aſſembled, recognizing M. d'Hervilly by his uniform of marechal de camp, ſeized and began to inſult him with horrid imprecations. M. de Vauzlemont, who was liſtened to upon

account of his uniform, aſſured them that M. d'Hervilly was the bearer of an order for the Swiſs guard to give over firing. They let him go, on his ſhewing them his order.

" Look ſharp after him, *camarade*," ſaid they to M. de Vauzlemont, " for you ſhall anſwer for him."

This danger was nothing in compariſon of thoſe which ſtill awaited M. d'Hervilly. Hardly had he gained the ſtreet than he met a detachment of the national guards and of the ſections, who, as ſoon as they knew him, fired upon him, but fortunately without injuring him. When he had gone on about two hundred paces farther, he was again fired at, and had again the good luck to eſcape. At the entry into the Carouſel, he was ſeized upon by two of the national guards. He knocked one to the ground; the other ran off, after thruſting a bayonet, which he had in his hand, into M. d'Hervilly's thigh, and leaving it there. M. d'Hervilly having plucked it out, pro-

ceeded, notwithſtanding the wound, to the court of the Swiſs, always accompanied by M. de Vauzlemont. They were for a moment expoſed to a croſs fire of muſquetry and grape-ſhot from the palace and Carouſel, and arrived unhurt at the court of the Swiſs, whoſe courage ſeemed to be reanimated by the ſight of M. d'Hervilly, who, inſtead of making any mention of the king's order, immediately began to examine how he could beſt prolong the defence of that place, ſo as to gain time for the royaliſts within the palace to join the Swiſs, who were in number about two hundred and fifty, and whom, he expected, might ſtill be joined by the well-diſpoſed national guards, and, in all, make up ſuch a force as would have enabled him to repel the inſurgents, and to re-eſtabliſh the royal family in the palace. He had hopes that the majority of the Pariſians would then have declared for the king, and would have expreſſed their abhorrence againſt the authors of the inſurrection; in which event he would never have

have been blamed for not having made uſe of the king's order; and if matters had turned out otherwiſe, he alone would have been anſwerable, as in that caſe he was determined to produce the order, which would have ſcreened his majeſty from all blame.

In purſuance of this plan, having poſted the Swiſs and the cannon in the moſt advantageous manner for defending the courts, he proceeded to the palace, attended by M. Vauzlemont: but in a narrow paſſage, which led to one of the back ſtairs, he again eſcaped being killed by a piſtol ſhot from a national guard, who lurked in a dark corner. Having thruſt his ſword through the body of this cowardly aſſaſſin, he walked on: but as he aſcended the ſtair, the tumult and horrible ſhrieks he heard obliged him to ſtop; and he was informed by a Swiſs, who came down ſtairs, that an immenſe armed populace had penetrated into the palace by the gallery of the Louvre, and were maſſacring every one they met in their way.

The Swiſs being evidently too few to continue the defence of the palace on the ſide of the Carouſel, and to repel the numbers who had ruſhed in, M. d'Hervilly was forced to abandon his project, which would have devoted to certain death ſo many brave ſoldiers, whoſe numbers diminiſhed every inſtant, while their courage continued unimpaired. He haſtened to join them, notified the king's order, and commanded them to follow him to the national aſſembly, where the king and royal family were. As the attack was made by the Carouſel and Louvre, the only remaining way was by the garden of the Thuilleries: but even there they had no ſooner appeared than they were expoſed to the fire of ſome cannon, and of the troops placed on the terrace. M. d'Hervilly had only ſixty of theſe unhappy men in his ſuite when he returned to the aſſembly, which, elated by the victory, reſumed its former arrogance, and baſely inſulted the unfortunate prince by the moſt injurious motions. The infamous

famous decree was paſſed, by which his regal functions were ſuſpended, and he himſelf and his family retained as priſoners, under the name of hoſtages; for they were ſo called in the decree.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Conſequences of the inſurrection of the 10*th of Auguſt.—Buob the judge ſends me word to abſcond.—Buob himſelf is arreſted.—I take refuge in the houſe of a democrate.—Strict ſearch made to diſcover where I was.—My brothers and* valet de chambre *ſent to priſon.—A letter of the princeſs of Rochefort, found in my houſe, is the cauſe of her being arreſted.—It is aſſerted, at the aſſembly of the ſection, that my lurking-place is known.*

FROM the accounts which I received on the evening of the 9th of Auguſt, I expected that the palace would be attacked before day-break; and I deſired Buob to ſend me hourly information of the progreſs of the inſurrection. I did not cloſe my eyes during the whole of that night, which I paſſed in the moſt cruel agitation. Even

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at half an hour after nine, on the morning of the 10th, I had not received any news; and from the profound calm which prevailed in that part of the town I inhabited, I began to hope that the king had found means to prevent the inſurrection. But theſe hopes were ſoon deſtroyed, on hearing the noiſe of the cannon. I immediately diſpatched two ſervants towards the Carouſel, by different ways, to know what was paſſing: but before their return, I was informed of every circumſtance by one of Buob's agents, who came to me directly from the palace, where he had paſſed the night; and from which he would not have been able to eſcape, notwithſtanding his national uniform, if he had not ſaid that he was ſent by Santerre with a commiſſion to the municipality. He had come away immediately after the royal family had taken refuge in the aſſembly. Soon after Buob ſent his ſervant to give me notice that Manuel, the *procureur de la commune*, had juſt been inveſted by the municipality with authority to keep a ſtrict watch on the

houſes of all who were known to be attached to the king, that my name, and that of M. de Montmorin, were at the head of the liſt; that we ought therefore to leave our houſes inſtantly, in order to eſcape the obſervation of the ſpies.

The very idea of flying, or concealing myſelf, when I had nothing to reproach myſelf with, was ſo repugnant to my feelings, that Buob's advice made the ſame impreſſion on me at firſt, as if he had propoſed to me to commit a mean action; and nothing but the preſſing intreaties of all my family, joined to the conſideration that I ſtill might be uſeful to the king, could ever have determined me to leave my houſe.

I went out, leaning on my brother the chevalier Bertrand's arm, (for I could not walk without aſſiſtance, on account of a complaint in my thigh,) and I took refuge in the houſe of the commander d'Eſtourmel, then procureur general of the order of Malta, who lived at about ſix hundred paces from my houſe. I met him at his door, on his return from the palace, where he

he had been ever ſince the preceding day; having miraculouſly eſcaped the almoſt general maſſacre of noblemen and gentlemen who, like him, had gone to the king's aſſiſtance. He was pale, diſordered, and without his ſword. His looks expreſſed the deepeſt deſpair.

"All is loſt," ſaid that brave and loyal chevalier, preſſing my hand. "The king is in their power, and we ſhall never ſee him more."

I had the precaution, in the beginning of Auguſt, to burn every paper and document which might have expoſed the king, or thoſe attached to his cauſe, to any danger; for I expected that my papers would be examined immediately after his majeſty's departure. I had only preſerved my notes, which were entruſted in ſafe hands, under a ſealed cover. With reſpect to the papers regarding my private affairs, they were depoſited in two large pocket-books, which I hid in a place over the garret, without a door or windows, and to which there was acceſs by a concealed trap-

trap-door. I commiſſioned my brother, however, to examine my cloſet a ſecond time, and to burn all the papers he could find. I had reaſon to congratulate myſelf on having had this precaution, when I heard that he found, in a writing-deſk, an account of Buob's expences from the beginning of the month, with his account of the employment of the money, which I always paid him in advance; and he never failed to join to this account his own daily report. My brother immediately burnt this, as it was of the utmoſt importance that no traces of that buſineſs ſhould appear.

I ſent a perſon of confidence to M. de Montmorin, to warn him of his danger. He had already left his houſe. But the brave and unfortunate Buob, whom I had entreated, by his ſervant, to loſe no time in concealing himſelf, rejected this advice, from the idea that his quality of juſtice of peace would protect him. He was taken up, that very day, by a band of wretches whom he had formerly ſent to the Bicetre, and who

who were now ſet at liberty. He was conducted to the Abbaye, where he was maſſacred on the 3d of September following.

I remained four days at the houſe of the commander d'Eſtourmel. Only two of my ſervants were informed of the place of my retreat; and my porter told all who came to inquire for me that I was gone to the country. Yet I found that I was not in ſafety, for unknown perſons were continually obſerved ſkulking near my houſe; and the ſervant who came to dreſs my hair in the morning was forced to come in a circuitous manner, and ſtop at various places, in order to miſlead the ſpies, one of whom was heard to aſſert, that it was known I was hid in that quarter. I therefore left the *commandeur*, and took refuge in the houſe of a ſurgeon, who had known me from my early youth, and who had always been attached to my family, particularly to one of my brothers, whom he was in the habit of ſeeing almoſt every day.

This man's underſtanding was none of the cleareſt; and his knowledge, upon any ſubject

ſubject foreign to his profeſſion, was extremely limited. He idolized the conſtitution of 1791, without well knowing why; and although he deteſted the crimes of the revolution, he attributed them more to the obſtinacy of the ariſtocrates than to the villainy of the Jacobins; whom, however, he thought rather too violent. Petion was his hero: but he deteſted Robeſpiérre.

This man had a great regard for me, being fully convinced that I was no leſs attached to the conſtitution than he was himſelf. His zeal for the revolution, and aſſiduity at the aſſemblies of his ſection, had ruined his buſineſs, and thrown him into poverty: but he was a perfectly honeſt man, incapable of giving me up for any reward that could be offered. I had nothing to fear from the treachery or indiſcretion of his family. His wife and daughter ſeldom went out, and both had a ſincere regard and all poſſible attention for me.

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As there were about thirty lodgers in the ſame houſe, and amongſt theſe ſeveral patriots, more or leſs zealous, I recommended to my hoſts to make no alteration in their manner of living; to take the ſame quantity and the ſame quality of bread and meat from their baker and butcher as uſual: whatever additions were ſtrictly neceſſary upon my account, might be purchaſed at different ſhops, and in the evening.

I found that I had not left my own houſe ſooner than neceſſary; for the very day after I was ſettled in the ſurgeon's houſe, two commiſſaries of the municipality, accompanied by ſix hundred of the national guards, inveſted and ſearched my hotel from top to bottom. A large vaſe of porcelain, which ſtood in my ſtudy, and into which I had been in the uſe of throwing waſte papers for many years, occupied them almoſt eleven hours, for they inſiſted on reading every paper it contained. Their only diſcoveries, however, were a few inſignificant letters from the princeſs

of Rochefort, which cauſed her to be taken up, and detained three months in priſon.

They likewiſe found an abſurd and unintelligible letter on the ſubject of an order denominated *Chevaliers de la Reine*, which, as was pretended, had been eſtabliſhed in Germany by ſome emigrants. There was in the ſame vaſe, a liſt of the members of the Auſtrian Committee, under Greek and Roman names, which was at firſt looked upon as the paper of the greateſt importance, as it was the moſt myſterious. A verbal proceſs was ordered and commenced upon the ſubject of this liſt, conſiſting of thirty-ſix names: but the commiſſary, on examining it more attentively, perceived that the key to the names was on the ſame page: that the abbé Syes was Calchas; Briſſot, Uliſſes; Condorcet, Narciſſus; Dumourier, Mithridates; Santerre, Catiline, &c. &c.

After terminating their reſearches in the apartments, the commiſſaries diſcovered the trap-door that opened into the place

where I had hid two large letter-caſes. They ſeized this new prey with avidity; and after examining the contents, they carried the whole with them, although not one letter or paper had any relation to public affairs. They ſealed up all the doors except thoſe of the cellar, becauſe they intended leaving a guard of twelve men at my houſe, and thought it proper that thoſe men ſhould have wine at their diſcretion. My cellar was unluckily ſufficiently well-ſtocked to furniſh drink for them and their friends, and they did not ſpare it; but what was much more unfortunate, my brother, who had continued to lodge at my houſe, was taken up, as alſo my *valet de chambre*.

The commiſſaries, on leaving my houſe, went, with part of their eſcort, to that of M. d'Aubigni, my neighbour and intimate friend, in hopes of finding me. From thence they went to *Rue du Chaume*, to the houſe of M. Vernier, my father-in-law, where madame Bertrand had taken

refuge on the 10th of Auguſt. They behaved with great inſolence and brutality, puſhing their bayonets through the tapeſtry to diſcover, they ſaid, if there was any one concealed behind it. They carried my brother and father-in-law, in ſpite of his age and infirmities, before the municipality. My *valet de chambre* was thrown into priſon, and every day threatened to be guillotined if he did not diſcover to them the place of my concealment. Luckily he was ignorant of it; ſo that, even if he had been capable of betraying me, I had no cauſe for uneaſineſs on that ſubject. He gained his liberty a few days after, through the intereſt of one of his friends. My father-in-law and brother were ſet at liberty after a detention of thirty-ſix hours; during which they were often threatened, and underwent ſeveral examinations; ſometimes at the municipality, and ſometimes at the houſe of the mayor, where they paſſed two days and a night, without going to bed, and

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without being able to procure any other nouriſhment than bread and water.

My brother, the abbé, who lodged in the *Rue des Prouvaires*, fearing the ſame fate, prepared to change his lodgings, and had his effects ſecretly removed. This was obſerved by a patriot, who was his neighbour, and who went and denounced him as a ſuſpected perſon to the municipality, who immediately ordered commiſſaries, and a guard, to arreſt him. While they were at his houſe, occupied in taking an inventory of his papers, my brother the chevalier came to inform him of his being ſet at liberty, and was directly taken up anew, on the abſurd pretext of having connections with a perſon declared to be ſuſpected. Upon the ſame principle, the ſurgeon, at whoſe houſe I lodged, was arreſted; an unlucky chance having brought him to my brother's at that moment. They were all three conducted in a *fiacre* to the municipality, accompanied and inſulted by a numerous populace, who,

without knowing who they were, or what they had done, demanded with loud exclamations, that they might be carried to the guillotine.

My ſurgeon, whoſe civiſm was known, was releaſed in two hours; but one of my brothers was ſent to the priſon of *la Force*, and the other to that of the abbey.

I knew nothing of what had paſſed till my landlord returned to dinner. His diſmal looks and unuſual taciturnity announced ſome great misfortune. My firſt idea was, that the king had been aſſaſſinated. My hoſt's ſilence to all my queſtions fortified this conjecture, and threw me into a ſtate of ſuch violent agitation, that he perceived it was of no uſe to keep me ignorant of the arreſt of my brothers. In ſpite of the tender friendſhip which always ſubſiſted betwixt us, I own that I was leſs alarmed on their account than on the king's, becauſe their only crimes were thoſe of being my brothers, and of refuſing to diſcloſe my retreat. I had it, at any time,

time, in my power to ſave them by giving myſelf up; a ſtep which I was determined to take if neceſſary.

That ſame night, about nine o'clock, my landlord entered in the utmoſt conſternation; he came directly from the aſſembly of the ſection, after having heard one of the members announce as a piece of good news, that the municipality had received information of the place where the miniſter Bertrand was concealed. The terrified imagination of my landlord, repreſented his houſe filled with commiſſaries and national guards, the miniſter diſcovered, and carried to priſon, along with the perſon who had harboured him; his wife and daughter inſulted; his little library pillaged; and, as the climax of miſfortunes, his high reputation for civiſm ruined for ever. He aſſured me, that I had not a moment to loſe; that I ought inſtantly to make my eſcape, and ſeek refuge elſewhere. I endeavoured in vain to make him eaſy, by convincing him that if

the municipality really knew where I was concealed, they would begin by arreſting me; that they could not give a ſtronger proof of their ignorance of my retreat, than by thus oſtentatiouſly declaring they were informed of it; and I concluded by obſerving, that the news which ſo greatly alarmed him, was certainly in conſequence of a miſtake, which my brother's arreſt had given riſe to. All this, however, was urged in vain; I could only prevail upon him to go himſelf in ſearch of other lodgings, while I was employed in packing up my clothes, &c. It was agreed that I ſhould be introduced into the new lodgings as his patient; and I allowed him to make what terms he thought proper for board and lodging.

I was extremely deſirous that his reſearches might be long and unſucceſsful, becauſe I found myſelf perfectly ſecure in his houſe; and I was in hopes, that in proportion as time elapſed, his fears would weaken, and my reaſonings gain force.

Juſt

Juſt as he was ſetting out, I thought upon a little device, likely to diminiſh his eagerneſs to get rid of me.

"In ſpite of my ſecurity," ſaid I to him, "as your uneaſineſs is poſſibly well founded, and I may be taken up while you are gone to ſeek a lodging for me, I won't allow you to run the riſk of not being reimburſed for the expence I have put you to."

"Oh, ſir! there's no hurry, our little account will ſoon be ſettled."

"But you know," ſaid I, "that if I ſhould be arreſted, they will take poſſeſſion of all my money, and then it will be out of my power to indemnify you."

"If you abſolutely inſiſt upon it, ſir—"

"Yes, yes," ſaid I, "it is beſt to make things certain. Let me ſee! this is the third day of my reſidence in your houſe, and *conſequently* I owe you a hundred crowns."

This *conſequence* ſurpriſed him the more agreeably, as we had not agreed on any price; and he would have thought himſelf magni-

magnificently paid with the fourth part of the ſum. I perceived his countenance to brighten, and he took the money with many expreſſions of gratitude. His wife and daughter, who were preſent, ſaid nothing, but their eyes clearly expreſſed their ſtrong deſire to retain a lodger whoſe reaſoning drew ſuch profitable *conſequences*.

I was now pretty certain that my landlord would return unſucceſsful. I continued however to pack up my things as if I had been to remove in an hour.

The man returned very much fatigued, about eleven o'clock at night, and told me, that he had not found any place that would ſuit me. "But to confeſs the truth," added he with an air of diſintereſted good will, "I do not regret it, for I ſhould have been ſorry to have parted with you; beſides, I have been thinking on what you ſaid, and I believe you are in the right: as they have not ſent to arreſt you, it is evident that they don't know where you are; no, if they had, they would not have given you time to conceal yourſelf elſewhere."

"I am

"I am entirely of your opinion," ſaid I.

"Indeed, there can be no doubt on the ſubject; my mind is now quite eaſy, therefore think no more of new lodgings."

"It is what I by no means wiſh," ſaid I.

"Well," ſaid he, "you ſhall taſte my pigeons. I have thirty above ſtairs, which I rear myſelf; you will find them excellent."

I did not queſtion the excellence of his pigeons; but the certainty of not being reduced to the dangerous neceſſity of ſeeking another aſylum, afforded me ſtill more ſatisfaction.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A decree of accuſation iſſued againſt me and all thoſe who compoſed the king's council in the month of November 1791.—*The inquietude of my landlord on this account.—I addreſs a letter to the aſſembly.—Domiciliary viſits.—The dangerous ſituation to which I was reduced.—Means invented for concealing me.—A fortunate incident.—An expedient propoſed to keep me ſecure.*

I SHOULD probably have ſuppreſſed an account of the difficulties I had to contend with after the king's impriſonment, had they been particular to myſelf: but as nearly the ſame dangers and difficulties were experienced by every royaliſt then at Paris, the following recital may be conſidered as a general hiſtory of our ſufferings at that dreadful period, when virtues were puniſhed

as

as crimes, and the moſt atrocious actions were applauded as patriotic virtues.

Amongſt the effects and papers taken from the palace on the 10th of Auguſt, there was unluckily a memorandum, dated as far back as the beginning of November, the contents of which were, that the miniſters, aſſembled in committee with Meſſieurs Barnave and Lameth, had diſcuſſed and agreed upon the grounds of the diſcourſe which each miniſter was to pronounce in the aſſembly, reſpecting the affairs of his department. This paper, without ſignature, and in an unknown handwriting, was declared, on the 16th of Auguſt, in the aſſembly, as having been found in the king's eſcritoir. After ſimply reading it, without farther examination or diſcuſſion, a decree was tumultuouſly paſſed againſt Barnave and Lameth, and againſt all the miniſters who compoſed the king's council in the month of November. As I had the honour to be of that number, I was comprehended in the decree; and on that very evening my name was echoed through

through the ſtreets of the capital by the criers of journals. The alarming ſound reached the ears of my hoſt. Having bought the journal, he returned home, and with a trembling hand preſented it to me.

"This affair becomes very ſerious, ſir," ſaid he, in a tremulous voice. "A decree of accuſation is paſſed againſt you."

"I am very glad to hear it," anſwered I, without heſitation. "It is what I expected and wiſhed. You will ſee that I ſhall embarraſs them a good deal."

"How?" ſaid he. "What do you intend to do?"

"I ſhall begin by examining the conſtitution, that I may exactly follow the rules it preſcribes."

"I am happy to find you are ſo diſpoſed," ſaid he; "for to be plain with you, after a decree of accuſation, you muſt be ſenſible of the conſequences both to yourſelf and me. I would not, for the world—that it could be ſaid—"

"You are perfectly in the right," interrupted I: "but make yourſelf eaſy, and be

be aſſured that I am far from intending to bring you into any trouble. You have been long acquainted with my fidelity to the conſtitution, and you will find that my principles remain invariably the ſame. But we ſhall talk this matter over to-morrow morning."

"With all my heart," ſaid he. "I am glad I have mentioned this affair to you, for I own that this frightful decree has greatly diſturbed me."

I had indeed perceived that the good man's attachment for me was ſtrongly combated by his patriotic ſcruples. His conſcience was more timorous than enlightened. *Leze-nation* was a crime againſt which he felt the greateſt horror; and he had more than once told me, that he looked upon harbouring a perſon, againſt whom a decree of the national aſſembly was paſſed, as that very crime.

I immediately ſaw that his fears and ſcruples would lead him to give me my diſmiſſion, and it therefore became neceſſary to prevent what would have perplexed me

me ſo much. I ſucceeded beyond my hopes, by adapting myſelf to his notions, and even ſeeming to ſurpaſs him in zeal for the conſtitution. I had already found this the moſt ſucceſsful method of leading him inſenſibly to the point I wiſhed. What inſpired him with confidence in my declaration was, the air of ſatisfaction I had manifeſted on hearing of the decree of accuſation. He was convinced that I intended to prepare for going to Orleans. The affectionate manner in which he wiſhed me good night, and the regret he expreſſed for the neceſſity of our ſeparation, ſhewed that this was his real opinion.

He entered my apartment next morning earlier than uſual. I ſeriouſly examined and diſcuſſed with him all the circumſtances and motives of the decree of accuſation againſt me, and I ſucceeded in convincing him that the aſſembly acted in perfect contradiction to the conſtitution, in paſſing this decree without hearing the defence of the accuſed; and upon no better proof than the writing contained in a piece of

paper without any ſignature, and in an unknown hand-writing, which was merely ſaid to have been found in the king's apartment; and upon a fact, which was not only demonſtrated by the verbal proceſs of the aſſembly to be falſe, but which, even ſuppoſing it true, could not be juſtly regarded as criminal. After having, by this explanation, enabled him to feel the force of my reaſoning, I read a letter to him that I had written to the aſſembly, in which I declared, "That if the aſſembly found my juſtification unſatisfactory, and thought proper to confirm the decree of accuſation given againſt me, that I would leave the place where I had been forced to take refuge, and go to Orleans, as ſoon as my health, which then was much impaired, would permit me to ſupport the journey; and when the aſſembly ſhould paſs a decree which would ſerve as my paſſport."

This letter tranſported mine hoſt with joy.

"I will engage to thruſt my hand into the fire," ſaid he, "if the decree of accuſation againſt you be not inſtantly revoked."

As I was far from being of that opinion, I anſwered, that it was rather too much to expect that the aſſembly, in the height of its power, would formally acknowledge having paſſed a decree contrary to the conſtitution.

"What are you talking of, ſir?" ſaid he, with all the vivacity of a Gaſcon, and in the Languedocian accent. "One of two things muſt happen: the aſſembly muſt either revoke the decree or confirm it."

"There is no doubt that it ought," anſwered I. "And if the aſſembly were compoſed of juſt, honeſt-hearted men, like you, they certainly would do one or the other."

"How can they avoid that?"

"I will tell you," replied I. "If my juſtification be not found ſatisfactory, the aſſembly will not heſitate to confirm the decree of accuſation; and, at the ſame time, another will be paſſed, to ſerve me as a

paſſport

paſſport to Orleans. But if they perceive that the decree of accuſation cannot be ſupported, they will probably, in that caſe, paſs to the order of the day; and that is all I require."

"Aſſuredly—the order of the day—yes, they will paſs to that. I believe you are in the right. But pray do you intend to ſend your letter immediately?"

"No; I think it will be more prudent to let a few days paſs, before I ſend it, otherwiſe it would convince them that I am ſtill in Paris, and the municipality would not fail to make freſh reſearches. Perhaps they might diſcover where I am, which would expoſe you to trouble. What do you think?"

"Very true," ſaid he. "I am entirely of your opinion. You muſt not ſend it for ſome days. I ſhall carry it myſelf to the poſt. You will not date it from Paris?"

"No, certainly; I ſhall only mention the day of the month."

"Right. Now I underſtand you."

"I have another affair to conſult you upon," reſumed I. "We do not know what may happen. It is not impoſſible but that ſome time or other it may be known that I was concealed in your houſe. This may be imputed to you as a crime; therefore I think it will be proper, for your ſecurity, to give you a copy of my letter to the aſſembly, incloſed in a declaration under my hand, to this effect: That being forced to ſeek an aſylum, after the 10th of Auguſt, I took a lodging at your houſe, on account of my needing the aſſiſtance of a ſurgeon for the abſceſs in my thigh; that after the decree of accuſation was paſſed againſt me, you conſented to my remaining at your houſe only on condition that I promiſed to ſubmit to the will of the national aſſembly as ſoon as I was able, in caſe they ſhould confirm the decree; that, in conſequence, you had required that I ſhould write the letter, of which the incloſed was a copy; and that you had yourſelf carried

the original to the poſt. Do you think," added I, "that ſuch a declaration would be of uſe to you?"

"Of the moſt eſſential, ſir," anſwered he. "I ſhould not have ventured to have aſked ſuch a declaration from you, but I feel myſelf infinitely obliged to you for thinking of it."

I gave him this declaration accordingly, with the letter to the aſſembly, which was dated the 20th of Auguſt 1792. It was received on the 22d, and next day read; and immediately, as I had foreſeen, the motion of paſſing to the order of the day was unanimouſly adopted. But as my landlord was fortunately prepared to conſider their paſſing to the order of the day, upon my letter, as a tacit revocation of the decree of accuſation, he imagined that my affairs had taken a favourable turn; and that evening he came, with an air of great ſatisfaction, to congratulate me upon what had paſſed in the aſſembly.

My friends and relations, whom I had no opportunity of appriſing of my meaſures,

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were extremely alarmed on hearing my name proclaimed in the ſtreets. My brothers, who heard it from their priſons, never doubted of my being apprehended; their fears reſpecting my ſafety were diſſipated, on reading the Journals. My letter to the aſſembly, however, was generally diſapproved of.

Thoſe who ſpoke of this ſtep with moſt indulgence, regarded it as fooliſh, becauſe they were ignorant of the circumſtances which forced me to it. They could not gueſs that my letter had produced the very effect I expected or intended by it, namely, that of quieting the conſcience of the perſon who gave me refuge. From that moment he regarded me as a faithful conſtitutionaliſt, whom all true friends to the country ought to protect from the perſecution of the republican faction.

In the mean time the *comité des recherches*, as it was called, employed every poſſible means of diſcovering the place of my retreat. They were convinced that I was ſtill concealed in ſome houſe in Paris; and

Manuel, *procureur de la commune*, engaged to find me in four days. I was informed of this by my landlord, who had heard it repeated in his ſection, and was greatly alarmed: but I at laſt convinced him that Manuel had ſpoken at random, without any indication of the place of my concealment; and that his boaſt deſerved no attention. We remained, for two days, tolerably quiet: but on the evening of the third, all the ſections received an order, about eight o'clock, for a general ſearch, to begin at midnight, in every houſe in their quarter, upon pretence of looking for arms; and all that ſhould be found were to be ſeized, and tranſmitted to the armies. The true motive of this meaſure was to diſcover and apprehend all thoſe who, ſince the 10th of Auguſt, had been obliged to conceal themſelves, in order to eſcape death; and the greateſt part of thoſe who found means to ſave themſelves, on that dreadful day, were now diſcovered, thrown into priſon, and reſerved for the ſtill more

dreadful ſlaughter of the enſuing September.

I never was expoſed to greater danger than on the night the commiſſaries were ordered to ſearch the houſes; for conſternation and deſpair had almoſt turned my poor hoſt's head, and it was impoſſible for me to make him liſten to reaſon.

"Hide yourſelf, hide yourſelf," ſaid he, on entering my apartment, with a moſt ghaſtly look.

"What is the matter, doctor?" ſaid I, without any apparent diſcompoſure.

"The commiſſaries," ſaid he, wringing his hands, "the commiſſaries, ſir. They are in the ſtreet. They are coming. Oh! hide yourſelf—hide yourſelf."

"Well, and ſo I ſhall hide myſelf, I promiſe you: but I beg to know what new reaſon there is. Compoſe yourſelf, and tell me who theſe commiſſaries are."

"The commiſſaries of the ſection, ſir, who have orders to ſearch every houſe, from the cellar to the garret."

"And

" And on what account is this ſearch?"

" The reaſon publicly given is to ſearch for concealed fire-arms: but I came directly here from the committee, where I was informed, that the commiſſaries have received ſecret orders to apprehend all ſuſpected perſons."

" If this be all, doctor, make yourſelf perfectly eaſy; for you have no fire-arms in your houſe, and I have not the air of a ſuſpected perſon."

" Don't you perceive, ſir, that it is a device of that raſcal Manuel's, and that he has very probably ſent a particular deſcription of your perſon to all the ſections?"

" That is impoſſible; for he never ſaw me, and can only give ſo vague a deſcription from report, that ten thouſand people of my ſize will anſwer to the ſame deſcription."

" But what does that ſignify, if it anſwers to you? I tell you, that you have not a moment to loſe. Hide yourſelf—take my word."

" Liſten

"Liſten to me, my dear doctor: As I am the perſon moſt intereſted, and am not a downright idiot, I have certainly a right to examine a little the meaſure you deſire me to adopt. Grant me a moment's attention, we have time to ſpare. The commiſſaries, you ſay, have but juſt entered the ſtreet, they have therefore at leaſt ſixty houſes to ſearch, from the cellar to the garret, before they come here. Beſides, there are many lodgings in this houſe. Your's is the moſt diſtant; and there is no reaſon to believe it will be the firſt examined; ſo that even upon the ſuppoſition that the commiſſaries were in the court, we ſhould have time to take breath."

"Well, then, tell me what is to be done: but make haſte."

"Why, I muſt either hide myſelf, or try to make my eſcape."

"But you cannot make your eſcape, ſir, for there are guards at each end of the ſtreet. Beſides, there are patroles to ſtop every perſon who comes out of any of the houſes."

"If

"If that be the caſe, there is no choice left but to conceal myſelf; and that is the eaſieſt thing in the world, for I have only to undreſs myſelf, and go to bed."

"What do you mean? Are you in your ſenſes? The commiſſaries will find you immediately."

"Well, and when they do find me, conſider that I am not in my own ſection, and therefore ſhall not be known to any of them; and if I ſeem quietly aſleep in bed, I ſhall have a much leſs ſuſpicious appearance than if I am found under it, or penned up in ſome preſs, or lurking in the cellar."

"But they will inquire of me who you are."

"Very well; you have only to ſay that I am a lawyer of Limouſin or Auvergne, who has been under your care during an illneſs, which has terminated in an abſceſs in my thigh, which is not quite cured."

"What name ſhall I call you by?"

"Whatever name you pleaſe. But you may even be diſpenſed from naming me, becauſe

becauſe ſurgeons are expected to keep the names of certain patients ſecret."

"Well, after all, I own that I have not ſufficient aſſurance to act this part," ſaid he. "They will ſoon ſee that I am not telling the truth."

"That is exactly my greateſt fear, doctor. I dread your pale, terrified look much more than I do the commiſſaries; for they will inſtantly read in your countenance that you have ſome great offender concealed in your houſe."

"Oh! don't fear," ſaid he, tremblingly.

"I ſhould be much eaſier, I confeſs," anſwered I, "if you would be prevailed upon to paſs the night at the committee. It will appear very natural, that in times like theſe your zeal ſhould lead you to aſſiſt your colleagues. This cannot fail to pleaſe them; and your wife and I, take my word for it, will extricate ourſelves to a miracle. You may, if you pleaſe, lock me up in my chamber, and carry the key with you. Your wife has only to ſay to the commiſ-

ſaries,

ſaries, that it is your ſurgery, and contains no arms except a few lancets and biſtories; and that you have the key in your pocket. You cannot fear that theſe gentlemen will have the brutality to break open the door of a colleague, whoſe patriotiſm is ſo well known."

"How, ſir? Would you have me leave my wife and daughter here alone, to receive the commiſſaries and the national guard, while they ſearched my houſe? Aſſuredly, ſir, I ſhall do no ſuch thing."

"Why not?" anſwered I. "Where is the danger? But even upon the ſuppoſition that there was cauſe for apprehenſion, what protection could they expect from a man in ſuch terror as you are in at preſent?"

"I am not ſo frightened as you think. Any ſmall fear I had begins to go off. I ſhall be quite at my eaſe when I have got you well hid. I am as much intereſted in this as you are; for if you are diſcovered in my houſe, my caſe will be as bad as your own. But truſt to me, and you ſhall

ſee

ſee that I have thought upon a plan which would conceal you from the devil himſelf."

I endeavoured in vain to diſſuade him from his ſcheme, but he adhered to it with invincible obſtinacy; and at laſt refuſing to liſten to me, he threw my mattraſs and bed-clothes into the middle of the floor, to prepare the wonderful place of concealment that he had conceived for me. In the room there was an alcove, containing a bed, which uſually reached to the wall: but for the preſent purpoſe drawing the bed forward, he left a vacant ſpace between the back edge of the bed and the wall of the alcove. He fixed a board from the bedſtead to the wall, and covered the board with a blanket only; whereas on the bedſtead he placed two thick mattraſſes, no broader than it; he then laid above thoſe a large mattraſs, which reached to the wall of the alcove, and conſequently covered the ſpace in which I was to lie hid. I yielded to his perſuaſions, and took my place accordingly. He arranged the curtains and bed-

bed-clothes ſo as to conceal the ſpace I occupied. When he had finiſhed his work, he was ſo delighted with the ingenuity of his device, that he quite forgot his fears.

"Who could ſuſpect," ſaid he, "that there is a man concealed there? Nobody can take ſuch a notion into his head. Beſides, when I ſhall lie down, who the devil will dare to come near you? If the commiſſary pretends to approach within an arm's length of my bed, I ſhall ſoon let him know that I am a commiſſary as well as he. I would break his head for him without ceremony. Well, how do you find yourſelf?" added he.

"Very ill, indeed. I am almoſt ſtifled."

"Oh! that is nothing; only a troubleſome quarter of an hour to paſs. But you will ſleep the better to-morrow night. Don't move, or you will put all out of order. I am coming to bed directly, and will endeavour to give you a little air."

"Make haſte, then," ſaid I; "for this is inſupportable."

He

He accordingly undreſſed, and came to bed. I ſoon found my ſufferings greatly augmented by the heat and weight of his body, which preſſing the mattraſſes, rendered the narrow ſpace in which I was ſqueezed ſtill more oppreſſive. It was then about one o'clock in the morning. I ſupported my ſituation upwards of an hour. At laſt, having loſt all patience, I ſtarted up, and waked my bedfellow, who had juſt begun to ſleep.

"This is no longer to be endured," ſaid I. "If I muſt die, I prefer the guillotine to being ſmothered; and am determined to ſit up till I hear the commiſſaries actually in the houſe."

My landlord earneſtly entreated me to have patience, declaring that he heard a noiſe in the ſtreet, and that the commiſſaries were perhaps already at the door.

"Then put on your night-gown," ſaid I, impatiently, "and go liſten; and if it really be the commiſſaries, return and let me know."

Luckily

Luckily my advice did not appear unreaſonable. He made no objection to follow it. He was no ſooner gone than I got out of the hole in which I had been hid, and cannot expreſs the relief I felt in my releaſe from that ſtate of ſuffocation. I had not long enjoyed the comfort of breathing freely when I heard burſts of laughter on the ſtairs, and a very noiſy converſation, in which I recognized my landlord's voice. He ſoon after entered my room laughing, and, in the fulneſs of his heart, continuing to talk as if he had been ſtill in company with the other lodgers, although he had parted with them at the bottom of the ſtairs. His joyous and triumphant air was a clear proof that there was nothing to fear.

"How now," ſaid he, "you have got up; you know then what has paſſed?"

"No, but when I heard you laugh, I gueſſed you brought me good news."

"That I have, take my word for it."

" You have come to a good underſtanding with the commiſſaries, and prevented them from ſearching your houſe."

" Yes," anſwered he, " if ſeveral pretty hard blows are marks of a good underſtanding."

" How ?" ſaid I. " Did you give the commiſſaries hard blows ?"

" No, not me : but all the neighbourhood are in purſuit of them, and they have been driven out of the ſtreet. It is the higheſt farce I ever beheld. Only conceive what theſe pretty commiſſaries are. Do not imagine they are members of the committee—No ſuch thing—two of the greateſt blackguards of the ſection, who offered, of themſelves, to viſit the houſes, and were accepted of. It is ſhameful. They had viſited all the houſes of the ſtreet excepting two; and being in that of the baker next door, his wife, who is young, and a very pretty woman, was in bed, when, behold, thoſe impudent fellows, on pretence of ſearching for arms, behaved in ſuch a rude manner, that ſhe ſhrieked repeatedly.

Her huſband opened the window, and called for aſſiſtance. In an inſtant more than an hundred perſons were in the houſe, and drove out the commiſſaries, after giving them a complete drubbing. When I came in, the people were ſtill chacing them with ſticks and ſtones. They ſcampered as if the devil had been at their heels. I'll be bound for it they will not come to this ſtreet in a hurry. The blades were in luck not to enter my houſe. They would not have got out of it with all their bones whole."

After much of this ridiculous vapouring, which only ſerved to confirm my opinion of the poor man's exceſſive cowardice, he begged I would take a little repoſe. I endeavoured to follow his advice, after returning thanks to Divine Providence for my preſervation through the dangers of a night ſo fatal to many.

It is remarkable, that I happened to be concealed in the only ſtreet of Paris in which the commiſſaries met with oppoſition; and in one of the two only

houſes of that ſtreet which had not been ſearched.

Next day, my landlord's fears being diſſipated, he went out early in the morning, at my deſire, to inquire after madame Bertrand and my family; and I entreated him to bring me the moſt minute account of the reſult of the commiſſaries' viſit. I ſhall ſay nothing of the extreme impatience with which I waited his return, nor of my gloomy apprehenſions on account of his not appearing at the hour expected. He returned, however, at laſt, and gave me the conſolation of knowing that none of my family had been arreſted: but he informed me, at the ſame time, that he had ſeen numerous carriages filled with unhappy perſons, who had been taken up in the courſe of the night, and were conducting to the Hotel de la Mairie, or the Hotel de Ville, and from thence to the priſon of La Force, or to that of the Abbaye. He had likewiſe heard, in his ſection, that ſeveral perſons, known to be in Paris, were not yet found; and that it was

probable

probable another ſearch, more rigorous than the firſt, would be made. He added, that he would have no inquietude if this ſearch was made by any of the members of the committee, becauſe he was known to and beloved by them all; and being their colleague, he was certain they would merely enter and go out of his houſe for the ſake of form, without examining or ſearching for any thing: but if the viſits were made, as there was reaſon to fear, by the ſimple individuals of the ſection, as in the laſt inſtance, he could not expect the ſame attention, becauſe he had never ſpoken in their aſſemblies, and was not generally known; that unluckily he had not talents for ſpeaking or writing on ſubjects foreign to his profeſſion: but he added, that if I would compoſe for him a ſpeech, on a patriotic topic, which he at the ſame time mentioned, he would next day read it in the aſſembly of his ſection. I thought his idea a good one, and promiſed to do as he required.

CHAP. XXXV.

The ſpeech I compoſed at the requeſt of my landlord.—It is decided that the two only houſes in my ſtreet, not yet examined, ſhall be viſited by the members of the committee, of which he was one.—Maſſacres in September.—My inquietude for the fate of my two brothers.—I am informed of the death of one of them.—This news proves falſe.—Maſſacre of M. de Montmorin.—Tribunal in the Abbaye; the manner of its proceeding.—Trial of my brother.—Remarkable conduct of two of the aſſaſſins.

IT was not one of the leaſt whimſical circumſtances of my ſituation, that of being reduced to the humiliating neceſſity of writing patriotic diſcourſes in order to eſcape the fury of the patriots. That which I wrote at the deſire of my landlord, had not however any thing atrocious in it. Its ſole object was to prevail on the aſſembly of

of the ſection to authoriſe him to give ſurgical aſſiſtance *gratis* to the families of all the volunteers of the ſection, who were at or ſhould go to the frontiers.

This diſcourſe, written in a very emphatic ſtyle, had the moſt complete ſucceſs, and gained my landlord the applauſe of all the members of the aſſembly. His name was proclaimed in the ſection in the moſt honourable terms; and next day, in the journals, the moſt flattering eulogiums were given to his patriotiſm. Theſe two days were certainly the happieſt of his life. He was quite intoxicated with ſelf-applauſe; thought himſelf ſuperior to future events, and he could not find words ſufficiently ſtrong to expreſs his gratitude for the ſervice I had rendered him. I adviſed him to take this opportunity of engaging two of his beſt friends of the committee to come and viſit his houſe, and alſo that of his neighbour, which had not yet been ſearched; as this was the ſureſt means of having nothing more to fear from the municipality, which, otherwiſe, on being in-

formed that all the houſes of the ſtreet had not been viſited, might again ſend commiſſaries at a time when they were not expected, and throw us into all our former inquietudes. This advice appeared to him very prudent, and he went immediately to the committee; but he found it difficult to prevail upon any of his colleagues to ſearch his houſe. They ſaid that they would truſt to his declaration; but he perſiſted in his requeſt by my advice, becauſe his word would only be ſatisfactory with reſpect to himſelf; and there were thirty lodgings in the whole of the building, which was five ſtories in height, and very large. It was at laſt ſettled, that he himſelf, with two other members of the committee, whom he had particularly deſired, ſhould viſit his and all the other lodgings that very afternoon.

Theſe commiſſaries came accordingly at four o'clock. He received them in an antichamber, which now that I occupied the inner apartment, was uſed as a parlour; the door betwixt theſe two rooms did not

ſhut

ſhut cloſe, ſo that I could diſtinctly hear every word that paſſed betwixt my hoſt and his colleagues. He performed the part we had agreed upon perfectly well.

"There is my daughter's apartment," ſaid he, "and this here is my wife's and mine: that room there, is my ſtudy in which I have a bed for patients who board with me. I have one at preſent; he is an advocate from the country, whom I have recovered out of an illneſs. I can anſwer for him, that he has neither gun nor ſabre in his poſſeſſion. I ſhall, if you'll give me leave, let him know that we are going to ſearch his apartment."

"It is unneceſſary," ſaid they, "ſince you ſay that you are ſure he has no arms; let us leave the poor man in quiet, and viſit the other apartments."

"As you pleaſe, gentlemen, I am at your commands."

They all went out together; and my hoſt returned ſome hours after, felicitating himſelf as well as me, that we had nothing more

more to fear from thoſe curſed domiciliary viſits.

I partook of his ſatisfaction on our having eſcaped ſo great a danger, and congratulated myſelf on having convinced him, that the great conſideration he had obtained in his ſection, ſecured us againſt all future inquietude on that head. Alas! I did not then foreſee the heavy calamities which were impending.

Next day was the dreadful 2d of September; when I heard the cannon of alarm fired betwixt twelve and one, I imagined that accounts had come of a deciſive victory gained by the duke of Brunſwick; and that foreign troops were marching towards Paris. My landlord, who feared this exceedingly, now began to be very much diſturbed on account of the celebrity of his patriotiſm, the very idea of ſeeing the Houlands and Pruſſian huſſars enter Paris overwhelmed him with diſmay. I made him eaſier by aſſuring him that I would be his protector; and I ſolemnly promiſed

to

to juſtify his conduct by declaring that he had done nothing but by my advice. I then begged he would go out and learn what was paſſing, and bring me back accounts of it.

He returned at five in the afternoon.

I ſoon gueſſed by his paleneſs and gloomy looks, that he brought fatal intelligence.

"What have you heard?" ſaid I, with the moſt lively inquietude.

"Don't ſpeak to me. Oh! terrible! Stand aſide till I ſhut the window; and go you," ſaid he, addreſſing his wife and daughter, "and lock the outer door."

"Calm yourſelf," ſaid I, "and tell me what has happened."

"Calm myſelf——! after what I have ſeen!"

"What have you ſeen?"

"Oh! dont ſpeak of it, it is horrible!"

"In the name of God," ſaid I, "don't leave me in this cruel incertitude; is the king in the temple?"

"To

"To be ſure he is;— who was ſpeaking of the king?"

"Why then have they fired the cannon?"

"Becauſe of ſome bad news from the frontiers reſpecting that curſed little town of Longwy, which the Pruſſians have taken; all Paris is in an uproar. They are murdering all the prieſts they can find; the priſons are broken open; two or three hundred ruffians have ruſhed in, and are butchering the priſoners. I juſt now ſaw the head of the princeſs de Lambelle carried on a pike to the Temple. All the biſhops and prieſts, to the number of two or three hundred, who were confined in the convent of the Carmes, have been ſlaughtered without mercy."

The moſt eloquent pen could but weakly deſcribe the terror and deſpair which overwhelmed me on hearing this horrible recital. I was ſeized with an univerſal trembling; a cold ſweat broke out upon my face. The dreadful idea of my two murdered brothers was more poignant than a thouſand daggers

piercing

piercing my heart. They had been ſhut up a fortnight before in the priſons, for no other reaſon than being my brothers: my troubled imagination preſented them ſtruggling with the aſſaſſins; I heard their dying groans; the ſole thought of ſurviving them revolted my mind, and made me conſider exiſtence as an unſupportable torment. It is my blood only," cried I to my landlord, who ſtood amazed at the ſtate in which he beheld me, "that they wiſh to ſhed: it is not juſt that my brothers ſhould be murdered, becauſe I am concealed; go, therefore, run directly, and let them know, that if my life will ſave theirs, I am ready to deliver myſelf up inſtantly, and you may announce the ſame to the people."

He endeavoured to calm me by the aſſurance, that he had made inquiries reſpecting the fate of my brothers: he had been poſitively informed, that they were both alive, and not in ſuch danger as I imagined; becauſe, after the firſt maſſacres, a tribunal had been eſtabliſhed in each

priſon, before which the priſoners were tried one after the other; that thoſe againſt whom there were the moſt ſerious accuſations, were tried firſt; and, as there was a great number of priſoners, the ſlaughter would be ſtopt before my brothers would be called, as there was no particular crime ſtated in the priſon regiſter againſt either of them. He told me alſo, that a corporal of the national guard, a very intelligent man, who was much attached to my brother the Abbé, was gone to the *Priſon de la Fórce* to employ every poſſible means of ſaving him.

Theſe aſſurances, in ſome degree, calmed me; and *Hope*, that ſecond ſoul of the miſerable, was ſo neceſſary to me, that I eagerly graſped every circumſtance which tended to revive it.

I ſent my landlord for more particular information to the corporal; to entreat of him to procure me ſome intelligence concerning my brother the chevalier, and to render both all the ſervice in his power. My landlord acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion;

miſſion; and as the corporal was not returned home, he left a note at his lodgings to the effect already mentioned.

The impatience and agitation with which I expected this man may be eaſily conceived. It was about mid-day when he came to my lodging. The landlord, after talking with him a few moments, introduced him into my apartment. The ſlowneſs with which I had heard him advance to my door made me ſhudder: but his ſilence, and the appearance of his eyes, which ſeemed ſwelled and red with weeping, filled me with the moſt direful preſages.

"My brother is, then, dead?" cried I, with a voice broken by convulſive ſobs.—"The poor Abbé—you could not, then, ſave him?"

"Pardon me, ſir; I have this moment parted from him. He deſires to be remembered to you."

"You have juſt parted with him! He is not then dead?"

"No,

"No, thank God; and I hope we ſhall ſave him. The municipal officer at the head of the tribunal is very well diſpoſed towards him."

"Why did not you tell me ſo at once? Why do you look ſo ſad? Have you any bad news to tell me? Don't keep me in this cruel ſuſpenſe."

"Alas! ſir,—the chevalier—"

"Oh! is he dead? Have you ſeen him? Tell me all."

"I have not ſeen him. It was not in my power to get near him: but his ſervant found his dead body amongſt thoſe which are heaped before the gate of the Abbaye. He told me ſo juſt now."

Theſe terrible words overſet my reaſon. I ſtared wildly at the officer; and ſome drops of blood I perceived on his coat excited an emotion of inexpreſſible horror againſt him.

"You are covered with blood, ſir," cried I, with frantic indignation. "Leave me inſtantly. Get out of my ſight; I wiſh to be alone."

The

The poor man, quite confounded at the harſhneſs with which I ſpoke to him, left me without anſwering a ſingle word. I immediately locked my door, and darkened the windows; for at that moment the light of the ſun, and the ſight of a human being, were equally odious to me.

I threw myſelf upon my bed in a ſtate which cannot be deſcribed. My brain throbbed, and my whole body was convulſed. After remaining two hours in this ſituation, a flood of tears, without abating my ſorrow, weakened its effects, and gave me ſome relief. My head-ach and convulſions ceaſed, but my reflections were equally bitter. When I imagined I had loſt the Abbé, it ſeemed to me that I ſhould have regretted the Chevalier leſs than him: but now when I thought that it was the Chevalier who had periſhed, he ſeemed to my afflicted heart the deareſt of the two. Beſides, I bitterly reproached myſelf for being, in ſome degree, the cauſe of his death, by perſuading him to return from his travels, to France, on my nomination

to the miniſtry. I had done this, that the king might not be reproached for having in his adminiſtration the brother of a man, who might be ſuſpected of emigration.

It was impoſſible for me to ſhut my eyes the whole night. I roſe at day-break, exhauſted with pain and grief, ready to expire with burning heat, and my mouth parched with thirſt. I little expected that the day which was beginning would ſee me paſs from the extreme of grief to that of joy. At nine in the morning my faithful *valet de chambre*, whom I had not ſeen for a fortnight, ſuddenly entered my apartment. His cheerful looks announced good news, but did not relieve my ſorrow, as I thought he was coming to tell me of my brother the Abbé's ſafety, which I expected, from what the corporal had already told me: but what was my happineſs and aſtoniſhment, when this worthy, honeſt man told me, and repeated it ſeveral times before I could believe him, that the Chevalier was alive, and had returned, at two in the morning, to my father-in-law's houſe; that he himſelf

had ſeen him, and had ſhaken him by the hand.

" Ah, my dear friend," ſaid I, embracing him as affectionately as if he had been my brother, " you have reſtored me to life. I ſhall never forget this mark of attachment."

He was ſo much affected, that he began to weep and ſob from the bottom of his heart. My ſatisfaction was increaſed by the ſhare this faithful domeſtic took in it *.

My ſoul was ſo intoxicated with joy the whole day, that no diſmal idea could find entrance. Entirely occupied with my brother's ſafety, I for ſome hours forgot the public calamity: but this cheerful gleam was but too ſoon obſcured. Next day I learnt, with the utmoſt horror, that the maſſacre of the priſoners continued day and night, without interruption. All my inquietude, as far as it regarded my brother,

* It was this ſame man who, a month after my leaving the kingdom, gave me a ſtill greater proof of attachment, in quitting his wife and children, and braving, without a paſſport, the dangers of emigration, in order to join me in England.

was, however, terminated that very day, when the corporal came to inform me that the Abbé had alſo been found innocent, and ſet at liberty. Both my brothers owed their deliverance to their courage and preſence of mind, joined to this fortunate circumſtance, that none of the villains, who had cauſed them to be arreſted, merely for being my brothers, were of the tribunal that acquitted them. The ſerenity of their countenances prejudiced in their favour the very aſſaſſins who, when they judged them, knew not that they were my brothers, and found no particular charge ſtated againſt them. That acquittal proved afterwards their ſafeguard in the moſt bloody periods of the revolution. The monſters who ſucceeded were undoubtedly afraid of ſhewing themſelves more ferocious than their predeceſſors, by condemning thoſe who were ſpared on the 2d of September.

The unfortunate count de Montmorin had taken refuge, on the 10th of Auguſt, at the houſe of a waſherwoman in the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine. He was diſ-

covered a few days before the 2d of September, by the imprudence of his hoſteſs, who bought the fineſt fowls and the beſt fruit ſhe could find, and carried them to her houſe, without taking any precaution to elude the obſervation of her neighbours. They ſoon ſuſpected her of giving refuge to ſome ariſtocrate of the higheſt order. This conjecture ſpread amongſt the populace of the Fauxbourgs, who were almoſt all of them agents or ſpies of the Jacobins. Thoſe ſuſpicions having reached the committee *des récherches* appointed by the municipality, they ordered the houſe of the waſherwoman to be ſearched. M. de Montmorin was arreſted at the moment he leaſt expected it, and conducted to the bar of the national aſſembly. He anſwered the queſtions which were put to him with great calmneſs, and in the moſt ſatisfactory manner: but his having concealed himſelf, and a bottle of opium found in his pocket, formed, as they ſaid, a ſtrong preſumption that he was conſcious of ſome crime, of which they expected to find proofs in the papers ſeized in

his own houſe. After being detained two days in the committee, he was ſent a priſoner to the Abbaye, where his diſmal forebodings were too well verified. He was murdered with circumſtances too ſhocking to mention, and his tortured body carried in triumph to the national aſſembly.

Amidſt theſe ſcenes of horror and carnage, and amongſt theſe ferocious monſters, who acted alternately as judges and executioners, my brother the Chevalier had the good fortune to meet with two men, who, although covered with the blood which they themſelves had ſhed, were nevertheleſs ſuſceptible of the ſentiments of humanity. As thoſe men were the inſtruments of ſaving my brother's life, I can never think of them without gratitude. The particulars of their extraordinary conduct I had from my brother himſelf, and are as follows:

The tribunal eſtabliſhed in the priſon, for the pretended trial of the priſoners, had delivered to the executioner all who had been brought before it. When my brother

was

was ſummoned, one of thoſe who were conducting him, ſtruck with the calmneſs and air of ſecurity he remarked in his countenance, after having looked at him ſome moments with earneſtneſs, ſaid,

"You have the appearance of an honeſt man. One conſcious of guilt has not ſuch a countenance."

"Well, I am conſcious of no guilt."

"Why are you here, then?"

"That is what I cannot tell. Nobody has been able to inform me. I am convinced I was taken up by miſtake."

"You are ſure of that?"

"Very ſure."

"In that caſe fear nothing. Keep a good heart. Speak firm before the judge, and rely on my ſupport. Do you hear? We ſhall bring you off, as ſure as my name is Michel."

"I am not at all afraid: but I can aſſure you that you ſhall be well rewarded."

"Don't talk of that," replied he, with a ſhake of his head.

The unexpected good fortune, of finding a zealous protector among theſe aſſaſſins, imparted to my brother all the ſteadineſs requiſite to enable him to ſupport the horrible aſpect of his judges. Being arrived at the bar of this tribunal of blood, and interrogated, by one of the butchers who preſided, as to his name and quality; he mentioned his name, adding that he was a *Malthais.*

"*Malthais! Malthais!* What does that mean? What is a Malthais?" exclaimed a hundred voices at once.

"He means that he is from Malta," anſwered my brother's conductor, in a loud voice. Malta is an iſland; don't you know that? I have known a great many people who came from it, and all of them were *Malthais.*"

"Ah, it is an iſland," ſaid one. "The priſoner is, then, a ſtranger?"

"Yes, to be ſure he is a ſtranger. What elſe can he be, you blockhead?"

"Very well: but don't you be in a paſſion, citizen."

"Call

" Call to order, call to order, preſident," cried out ſeveral at once. " Come, let us make haſte."

" The preſident then aſked my brother of what he was accuſed. My brother anſwered, that he did not know, for nobody had been able to tell him."

" He lies, he lies," was echoed from all ſides.

" Silence, citizens," anſwered honeſt Michel, in a voice of authority ; " let the priſoner ſpeak. If he lies, his buſineſs will ſoon be done for him: but you won't condemn him without hearing him, I hope?"

" No, no, no ; that is but fair. Let us hear what he has to ſay for himſelf. Michel is in the right. Hear him, hear him. Go on, preſident."

" Why were you arreſted?" reſumed the preſident.

" Becauſe I had the misfortune to call upon a perſon at the very moment the guard came to arreſt him. They took me, (and another, who had alſo called by accident,) along

along with him to the municipality: but the other being a commiſſary of the ſection, obtained his liberty in a few hours. My friends have alſo taken ſteps to procure mine; and they have always been told, that orders would be immediately given for that purpoſe. I cannot conceive why they have not."

"But are you certain," ſaid the preſident, "that there is no accuſation againſt you on the regiſter?"

"I have no reaſon to think there is: but if there be, I ſhall not be at a loſs to juſtify myſelf."

"Bring me the regiſter," ſaid the preſident.

It was delivered to him by the gaoler; and upon examining it, the preſident finding no crime annexed to the name of my brother, nor any reaſon whatever given for his being arreſted, he handed the regiſter to the other members of the tribunal, in order to convince them; and then declared, with a loud voice, that the priſoner had told the truth.

"The

"The nation ought, then, to declare him innocent," cried Michel.

The motion was ſupported by a general "*oui, oui, oui, oui.*" This unanimous acclamation was immediately followed by a formal declaration of the tribunal, in the name of the nation, that the priſoner was innocent; and he was ordered to be ſet at liberty. This ſentence was applauded by repeated cries of "*vive la nation!*" Upon this Michel, and one of his comrades, who had ſeemed equally intereſted in my brother's fate, took him under the arm, and conducted him to the outer gate of the priſon, where the maſſacres were committed, and loudly proclaimed him innocent.

The executioners were drawn up in two oppoſite rows, their weapons ready to ſtrike, when the words "*citoyen innocent*" reached their ears. They inſtantly ſurrounded him, lifted him in their arms with clamorous tranſports of joy; and with faces and hands beſmeared with blood, they hugged him by turns. He was forced to ſubmit, with a good grace, to theſe horrible careſſes, which his

his vigorous conductors with difficulty relieved him from, ſaying that he was unwell, required reſt, and that it would be cruel to detain him longer. After having diſengaged him from the mob, Michel aſked him if he had any relations in town, to whom he wiſhed to be conducted. He anſwered, that he had a ſiſter-in-law, to whoſe houſe he was going, but that he would not give them the trouble of accompanying him, as he had ſufficient ſtrength ſtill left to walk by himſelf. He at the ſame time expreſſed his gratitude for their ſervices, and offered them a handful of aſſignats as a ſmall recompenſe for all they had done for him. They refuſed his money, and perſiſted in accompanying him.

"We muſt anſwer for you," ſaid one of them to him; "and we cannot leave you till we have ſeen you in ſafety. As for your aſſignats, we will have none of them. The ſatisfaction of ſaving you is better than that. It is to your ſiſter-in-law's, then, we are now going? Where does ſhe live?"

"In

"In the *rue du Chaume*."

"The good lady will be ſurpriſed and happy, no doubt, to ſee you again."

"Oh! certainly. She will be delighted."

"You would never gueſs, ſir," ſaid honeſt Michel, "what my comrade and I have been whiſpering together. We were juſt ſaying, that if you would give us leave to attend you to your ſiſter's, it would do both our hearts good to ſee ſo happy a meeting."

"You are very kind, my friends, but it is late, and you ſtand in need of ſleep."

"Oh! ſir, that ſight would refreſh us more than any thing."

"I ſhould be glad of your company, but my ſiſter-in-law is ſo timid, and of ſuch a delicate conſtitution, that the ſight of ſtrangers, at ſo late an hour, might alarm her; and beſides, the blood on your clothes might do her harm, which would certainly give you pain."

"Certainly," replied they: "but when you tell her that it was us who ſaved your life, ſhe will be glad to ſee us. Depend upon it we will not frighten her. Come, come,

come, ſir, give us this ſatisfaction; it will not coſt you ſo much as the money you offered, and will afford us more pleaſure."

My brother was forced to yield to their intreaties. They accompanied him to the houſe of my father-in-law, to which Madame Bertrand and my children had gone after the 10th of Auguſt. The joy of my family, on ſeeing the Chevalier, was the more lively, as they had given him up for loſt.

Madame Bertrand being prepared for the ſtrange viſit ſhe was to receive, ſhe conſented to it without repugnance. Her heart was too full of joy and gratitude to be acceſſible to other ſentiments. She only ſaw in theſe men, covered with blood, the deliverers of my brother, and ſhe received them as her benefactors. They were extremely touched by this reception, and with the joy of madame Bertrand and her family, who ſurrounded the Chevalier, and embraced him with many tears.

Michel and his friend were delighted with this ſcene of happineſs, which they juſtly conſidered as their own work.

"It

"It is you and I, my friend, after all," ſaid Michel to his comrade, "who have ſaved the life of this honeſt man."

To this the other aſſented, the tears, at the ſame inſtant, falling from the eyes of both. This emotion was undoubtedly mixed with remorſe; for at a moment when mild humanity began to reſume her influence in the breaſts of thoſe men, perhaps originally good, but perverted by fanaticiſm and example, they could not but reflect with horror on the bloody ſcenes to which they had been acceſſary.

They had the diſcretion not to prolong their viſit beyond a quarter of an hour; and in taking leave of my brother, they repeatedly thanked him for the pleaſure he had procured them.

The reader muſt be ſtruck with ſuch an aſtoniſhing inſtance of ſentiments ſo oppoſite and diſcordant exiſting in the ſame breaſt. How can we account for a fact ſo very extraordinary, that thoſe who are employed as the aſſaſſins of their fellow-creatures, ſhould, almoſt in the ſame moment,

ment, ſhew themſelves ſenſible of the moſt pleaſing ſenſations of benevolence and compaſſion to a man quite unknown to them? Even thoſe who have moſt deeply examined the human heart muſt be perplexed to give a ſatisfactory explanation of this phenomenon, which is perhaps without example.

CHAP. XXXVI.

New manœuvres to diſcover the place of my concealment.—The Jacobins publiſh an account of my death.—My houſe in the country is burnt.—Death of my father.—The retreat of the duke of Brunſwick.—I reſolve to quit the kingdom.—I arrive at Boulogne, where I embark.

THE committees of public ſafety, appointed by the aſſembly and by the municipality of Paris, which were compoſed of the moſt violent Jacobins, continued to purſue me with as much rancour as ever, and employed every means to diſcover the place of my concealment. M. d'Andreſel, treaſurer of the invalids of the ſea ſervice, found means to inform me, that Le Cointre-Puiraveau, one of the moſt worthleſs ſcoundrels in the aſſembly, had made him a viſit, in the name of the com-

mittee, to learn from him where I was hid; and that he had tried, firſt by promiſes, and afterwards by threats, to extort from him the ſecret. M. d'Andreſel was incapable of diſcloſing it, had he known it: but, in fact, he was not at all in my confidence, and knew not where I was. "We are abſolutely certain," ſaid Le Cointre, "by the information which we have already got, and by the meaſures which we have taken, that he cannot eſcape; therefore in telling us at preſent where he is, you will ſhorten our ſearch, without doing any harm either to yourſelf or him; for nobody ſhall ever know that you gave us the information. You may depend upon it that the aſſembly will take it as an obligation, and I am deſired to aſſure you of that."

The narrative of the maſſacre of the priſoners at Verſailles, which was publiſhed, a few days afterwards, by the infamous Hebert, and which contained all the particulars of my death, was certainly one of the meaſures which Le Cointre alluded to. They flattered themſelves that I ſhould take

leſs

leſs care to conceal myſelf, when I ſaw that they believed I was dead: and as they had no doubts of my being ſtill in Paris, they cauſed this narrative to be cried through the ſtreets for ſeveral days, that it might reach my ears; and it did reach my ears, but without deceiving me; for as I knew that none of my relations or friends had furniſhed Hebert with this article, I had no doubt of its being a ſnare laid to entrap me; for which reaſon I was more cautious than before. The narrative was intitled, "*A circumſtantial account of the juſtice of the people exerciſed at Verſailles upon the ariſtocrates and counter-revolutioniſts, who were priſoners at Orleans; with the execution of Briſſac, de Leſſart, de Bertrand, &c. &c.*" And here follows the account given in this narrative of my laſt moments:

"The next in turn was the late miniſter Bertrand, a moſt incorrigible liar and audacious conſpirator. He gave furloughs to the naval officers who had emigrated, aſſerting, with effrontery, to the legiſlative aſſembly, that they were at their poſts. Their

pay was tranſmitted to them to Coblentz, while our ſhips were left without officers. He attempted, by intreaties and by his uſual falſehoods, to move the enraged people. 'Generous citizens, (ſaid he,) it is true we are guilty, and that, tempted by ambition, we have been the enemies of the people: but although our criminal conduct juſtly enrages you, remember, at the ſame time, that you are victorious, and that we are your priſoners. Let our repentance diſarm you.' All was in vain. His prayers could not diſarm the people. He was put to death, and cut in pieces."

This publication, which unfortunately was as true in the other particulars, as it was falſe in thoſe which related to me, I thought worth preſerving, becauſe, in various emergencies which might naturally occur before I could eſcape out of France, ſuch a proof of my death might be the means of ſaving my life.

The Jacobins, enraged that they could not wreak their vengeance on my perſon, exerciſed it on my poſſeſſions. I was informed,

formed, that towards the latter end of the month of September, one of their moſt infamous agents, named Alard, who unfortunately was at that time mayor of the principal *ſeigneurie* which I poſſeſſed in Languedoc, (Monteſquieu de Volveſtre,) had employed a hundred brigands whom he commanded, to burn the chateau in which my father and my family reſided part of the year, and in which all my papers were depoſited. My father was at that time at Thouloufe, oppreſſed with grief on account of the critical ſituation in which all his family was, and peculiarly anxious for my brothers, during the maſſacres of September. Time had leſſened the energy of character, without diminiſhing the ſenſibility of this venerable old man. Upon the point of ſinking under the weight of ſo many diſtreſſes, he was ſuddenly informed that his chateau was reduced to aſhes. This additional calamity overpowered his remaining ſtrength. He was ſeized that very day with a burning fever, and expired in leſs than a week.

While I was ſhedding bitter tears for the death of an affectionate father, whoſe favorite I was, I learnt that the Jacobins had the barbarity to triumph at this news, and to congratulate each other, that as the ſucceſſion now deſcended to me, it could no longer be kept from their rapacity. Alard, their worthy inſtrument, wanted immediately to ſequeſter my eſtate, upon the pretext of my having emigrated; and his zeal, on this occaſion, doubtleſs contributed to procure him the honour of being elected member of the convention. In fact, there were very few villains in the kingdom more worthy than him of thoſe places, which were at this time the recompence of crimes. If, at this period, law had not been without force, my formal refuſal *(repudiation)* of the ſucceſſion of my father would have tranſmitted his eſtate to my brothers: but all the people, to whom I applied for this purpoſe, refuſed their aſſiſtance, for fear of being accuſed of the new crime of *leze-nation*.

Hitherto I had cheriſhed hope that ſome movement within the nation, excited perhaps

by

by the march of the duke of Brunſwick, might take place in favour of the king: but theſe laſt hopes were entirely deſtroyed by the extraordinary news of Dumourier's ſucceſs, and the retreat of the Pruſſians, which filled me with the more regret, becauſe the known ferocity of ſome of the leading deputies to the convention, and the republican principles of others, made me deſpair of being able to be of any ſervice to the king, eſpecially as I was under the neceſſity of remaining in the cloſeſt concealment.

I was undecided what I ſhould do, when the means of eſcaping out of the kingdom was offered me by a woman, who was ſincerely devoted to the king, although a different opinion has been entertained of her on account of ſome of her connections. I abſtain from naming this lady, leſt her generous conduct towards me ſhould bring her into trouble. During my adminiſtration, ſhe had given me frequent information, of a nature very uſeful to the royal

family, to whom ſhe was ſincerely devoted, although conſidered by many a decided democrate.

On the preſent occaſion, ſhe ſent me word, by my brother the chevalier, that if I intended to eſcape to England, ſhe would procure me a paſſport, undertaking, at the ſame time, to find me the means of going ſafely to Boulogne, where ſhe would recommend me to a correſpondent of her's, a man of intelligence, who had already embarked two of her friends under falſe names, and who would do the ſame thing for me.

I accepted this propoſal with great eagerneſs, only I deſired to know how it was to be executed. My brother ſoon after brought me a paſſport, which had been originally deſtined for one of her friends who had paid a hundred louis for it, but who had embarked without its being examined; and, as he had never been aſked for his paſſport, he had returned it to her, that it might aſſiſt the eſcape of ſome other friend. The

date

date of this paſſport was two months old, and its form was quite different from that which had been ſince adopted: there were likewiſe ſeveral corrections neceſſary for adapting it to my appearance, inſtead of the perſon for whom it was originally intended. My *valet de chambre* being extremely expert at this, and his writing being very like that in the paſſport, the corrections gave me leſs uneaſineſs than the oldneſs of the date. With regard to the means of getting ſafe to Boulogne, the lady propoſed to ſend me there by an old ſervant of her family, who, at that time, drove the mail from Paris to Calais.

This propoſal ſeemed to me ſo favourable, that I reſolved to attempt it, notwithſtanding all my uneaſineſs about the form and the age of my paſſport. The 12th of October was the day fixed upon for my departure. I had an interval of ſix days to prepare for this journey. In this interval, having procured the printed form for the new paſſports, I without ſcruple fabricated one for my own uſe.

The danger of croſſing Paris in broad-day light, was what I had chiefly to fear. My family, who were extremely alarmed, thought I muſt be diſcovered, except I wore an old black wig very ill dreſſed.

After a careful reſearch, they at laſt found one, which they thought would anſwer the purpoſe. It is certain that it made a horrible alteration in my appearance, and it was impoſſible to recogniſe me: it had, however, this incovenience, that it made me extremely remarkable; and no patrole or ſentinel could ſee ſo extraordinary and ridiculous a head, without being convinced that it was intended as a diſguiſe. This conſideration made me throw aſide the wig, and I adopted no other diſguiſe than having my hair extremely ill dreſſed and diſordered, and wearing a round hat and a brown great coat.

It was in this dreſs that I ſet off on the 12th of October, at ten o'clock in the morning, from my landlord's houſe. I had four travelling companions; one of them

was

was the ſame Mr. Thomas formerly mentioned; he was dreſſed in the uniform of a ſubaltern officer of the national guards; three others were unacquainted with me, and one of them likewiſe wore an uniform. The night before, I had ſent a bag with my clothes to the mail-carrier for Boulogne; and having hired a hackney coach for St. Denis, I traverſed Paris with theſe four men: we had agreed, that if we were queſtioned, we ſhould ſay that we were going to dine at Pierrefite, near St. Denis, and to view a houſe which was to be ſold.

We arrived at that village, which is a quarter of a league beyond St. Denis, without meeting with any thing diſagreeable; I dined there at the houſe of an old Italian architect, who was devoted to the lady who had procured the paſſport, and had adviſed me to wait at his houſe for the arrival of the mail for Boulogne.

The mail-carrier let me know the exact hour at which he would paſs the heights of Pierrefite; I ſet out for the road a few minutes ſooner. He arrived there almoſt

at

at the ſame inſtant with me, having opened for me his chaiſe, *(brouette,)* into which I had a great deal of difficulty to ſqueeze myſelf; for he alone could fill three-fourths of it. It was, therefore, impoſſible to travel leſs at our eaſe than we did; and I ſhould never have been able to hold out if the journey had been longer, or if my conductor had not gone out of the chaiſe at every ſtage to refreſh himſelf with a glaſs of brandy. During theſe moments of reſpite, I was able to relieve my legs and arms, which were quite numbed by the violent preſſure.

I arrived at Boulogne on Saturday night, and I got out at the inn where the mail puts up, ſo overcome with fatigue, and with the bruiſes I had received, that I could hardly ſtand upon my legs.

I inſtantly aſked for a bed-chamber; for although I had not eat the weight of four ounces of bread the whole journey, yet I had more need of a bed than of any thing elſe.

Next morning I wrote as expeditiouſly as poſſible to Mr. N———, citizen of Boulogne, to whom the lady had recommended me, under the name of Vandeberg, a merchant of Liege, the name mentioned in my paſſport. I informed him of my intention of paſſing to England in the firſt packet-boat; and I begged that he would call upon me, to aſſiſt me in making the arrangements neceſſary for my departure.

In leſs than a quarter of an hour after this letter was ſent off, the maid of the inn brought into my room a man ſix feet high, whoſe name ſhe did not announce, and who was dreſſed in the uniform of the officers of the national guards. I was at firſt extremely ſurpriſed, and even alarmed, at this viſit. I could not conceive how this man was ſo quickly informed of my arrival, and what he had to ſay to me of ſo much importance, as to induce him to viſit me in ſpite of the rain which was then pouring down. I was afraid that this was one of thoſe fatal domiciliary viſits from which

which I had with ſo much difficulty eſcaped when at Paris. However, I roſe from my ſeat, and went up with confidence to him, ſaying, with apparent eaſe, "Pray, what is your buſineſs with me, ſir?"

"Is it Mr. Vandeberg to whom I have the honour of ſpeaking?" ſaid he.

"Yes, ſir, that is my name."

"Ah! ſir," replied he, after looking at me ſtedfaſtly, and then making me a profound bow, "I have now the honour of recollecting you perfectly."

Believing that he took me for ſome other perſon whom I happened to reſemble, I anſwered, "I fancy, ſir, you are miſtaken; for I do not remember ever having ſeen you before."

"Oh! ſir, I am ſure of what I am ſaying, though I had only the honour of ſeeing you once, and but for half a quarter of an hour."

"Where do you think you ſaw me?" reſumed I. "Was it at Liege, at Amſterdam, at ———"

"No, ſir, not ſo far off as that; it was at Paris, laſt January, in the *Rue Royale*, at the marine hotel."

"Are you very ſure?"

"Oh! very ſure, ſir."

"In that caſe you have a better memory than me."

"Be under no uneaſineſs, ſir; for I remember you, only becauſe I cannot forget your goodneſs in terminating, in one morning, the buſineſs for which I had the honour to ſee you. It was an affair which took me to Paris, and which I feared would detain me there fifteen days at leaſt; but, through your goodneſs, I was able to ſet out the next day after my arrival. I ſhall be very happy to ſhew my gratitude by ſerving you in any way I am able."

"But who are you, and how came you to know of my being at Boulogne?"

"Your letter informed me. My name is N———."

"Oh! you are Mr. N———. Why did not you tell it me? I had not the leaſt con-

conception of it; your uniform put that quite out of my head."

"I am obliged to wear this uniform, becauſe I am an officer in the national guards; and I am likewiſe a municipal officer, and ready to obey all M. Bertrand's orders in either capacity."

I accepted his offers very eagerly, and immediately put his good intentions to the proof, in requeſting that he would endeavour to get one of my paſſports examined, that I might not be obliged to preſent myſelf to the municipality, where I might meet ſome zealous patriot with as good a memory, but without the ſame inclination to oblige me; and who, on the contrary, might think that to arreſt me, was a great act of civiſm."

Mr. N——— ſaid, "What you demand, has never yet been granted to any one; and it is more difficult to obtain it now than ever, on account of the laſt orders which have been tranſmitted to us by the committees at Paris. We are expreſsly com-

commanded to admit no paſſport without comparing the deſcription with the perſon, and without likewiſe examining if he reſembles the deſcriptions which have been ſent us of ſuſpected perſons."

"It is exactly this examination which I wiſh to avoid; I perceive it is not an eaſy thing, but I hope that your zeal and addreſs will enable you to do me this ſervice. You may ſay, without a falſehood, that this M. Vandeberg is known to you, and one of your beſt friends; that an exceſſive bad cold hinders him from going out during this rainy weather; that you will anſwer for the exactneſs of the deſcription in the paſſport with my perſon. The aſſertions of a municipal officer, and one who is likewiſe an officer of the national guards, cannot be ſuſpected, provided you appear to think that what you aſk can meet with no oppoſition. And, depend upon it, you will meet with none; only put on a little effrontery, and you will ſucceed."

"Very well, ſir, I ſhall try; and you may depend upon my doing all I can. What I moſt fear is, leſt they ſhould diſcover, that the deſcription of M. Bertrand reſembles that of M. Vandeberg."

"Do not you know," ſaid I, "that M. Bertrand was maſſacred at Verſailles with the other priſoners from Orleans?"

"That report was circulated," ſaid he; "but thoſe who do not believe in ghoſts, may take it into their heads that it was ill-founded."

"I will give you a proof that might convince an infidel," anſwered I, ſmiling, and then ſhewed him the narrative of the maſſacre of Verſailles; and, when he read the article reſpecting me, he laughed heartily. I put my two paſſports into his hands, that the municipality might chooſe that which they liked beſt.

"All this is very lucky," ſaid he, as he went away; "I ſhall now go to the town-houſe; and I hope to return before dinner with good news."

He

He had not left me above two hours, when he came back to my room triumphing, with the two paſſports in his hands. The municipality had admitted *that* which they thought the moſt regular, which was preciſely the one I had forged.

I then requeſted that M. N——— would hire a place for me in the firſt packet-boat which ſhould ſail for England; and that he would make all the arrangements requiſite for my departure. He did every thing with the greateſt zeal and activity; but unfortunately the wind was adverſe, and there was no appearance of its changing.

The bad weather continued for five days more. I remained carefully ſhut up in my room, leſt I ſhould meet ſome one who might recogniſe me.

I only ſaw one old gentleman, who was to go with me to Dover; from whence he was to croſs again to Oſtend, and proceed to Germany, to carry money to certain *emigrés*. This old gentleman had already made ſeveral journeys for the ſame pur-

poſe; and he employed a part of his fortune in ſupport of the emigrant nobility.

On the 19th of October, the rain, which had continued inceſſant during five days, ceaſed; the wind calmed, and the moſt brilliant ſun announced a beautiful autumnal day. About nine o'clock in the morning, M. de N——— ſent to give notice, that the packet-boat, in which he had taken my place, was to ſail betwixt ten and eleven. I got ſafe into it without being aſked for my paſſport; ſo that I might have ſaved myſelf the trouble of forging one.

The old gentleman embarked in the ſame packet-boat; and we mutually exhorted each other to wait patiently till Providence was pleaſed to ſend us a breath of wind. It was not till twelve o'clock that we had the pleaſure of ſeeing our ſails ſlightly agitated; and, by ſlow degrees, ſwell ſo as to carry us out. It ſeemed to me, that I now breathed more freely than I had done for ſome time; but my heart was deeply affected

fected as the coaſt of France diſappeared by ſlow degrees from my view.

The idea of flying my country, like a criminal, under a borrowed name; of being ſeparated, perhaps for ever, from all who rendered life deſirable, filled my ſoul with inexpreſſible anguiſh.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Singular converſation with a paſſenger, between Boulogne and Dover.—My arrival in London.—Wait on Lord Grenville.—Two commiſſaries from Paris come to arreſt me at Boulogne, a little after my departure from that town.—My letter to the convention.

AFTER three hours' ſailing, in which we made but little way, a perfect calm ſucceeded. The ſky became cloudy, and the coaſt of France was entirely obſcured by a thick fog, although we were ſtill at no great diſtance from it. The converſation of the paſſengers, in which I heard myſelf named with exaggerated eulogiums, drew me out of the deep reverie into which I had been for ſome time plunged. Two of my travelling companions, whom I had at firſt taken for Engliſhmen, becauſe I had hitherto

hitherto only heard them ſpeak Engliſh, now began a converſation in French with the old gentleman above mentioned, upon the maſſacres of the 2d of September. One of them was a Frenchman. He related many horrible circumſtances; ſome altogether incredible, but which it was impoſſible to conteſt with him, as he repelled every doubt by declaring that he did not ſpeak from hearſay, but from facts to which he had been himſelf a witneſs. He ſpoke as if he had ſeen every thing with his own eyes.

From the maſſacres of Paris, he paſſed to that of the Orleans priſoners at Verſailles. He did not mention this as an eye-witneſs, but only as having heard all the circumſtances from an intimate friend, on whoſe veracity he could depend.

Having exhauſted that ſubject, he gave us a very circumſtantial account of my death, and of the regret it had occaſioned to many perſons of worth, particularly to himſelf, to his family, and to all his friends. He then pronounced my eulogium with ſuch enthuſiaſm, that

I could not help ſmiling. My panegyriſt obſerving this, was rather offended.

"How, ſir!" ſaid he, drily. "You laugh. Do you think I have ſaid too much?"

"Yes, ſir," anſwered I, "I own I do think that you have gone rather too far. I know M. Bertrand probably better than you do."

"You may perhaps know his figure better than I do," ſaid he, "as I never ſaw him: but with regard to his conduct, I defy you to know more of that, for nobody has been more attentive to it than I have been."

"I know ſomething of his conduct alſo," replied I. "It was ſuch as every honeſt man would have obſerved in his ſituation. He did no more than his duty; and I ſee no great merit in that."

"What do you call no great merit? Sir, I am convinced, that if all had conducted themſelves like him, there would have been no revolution in France."

"No

"No revolution! Why the revolution had taken place before he was appointed to the adminiſtration."

"Well," replied he, "M. Bertrand would have moderated it; he would have prevented the cataſtrophe of the 10th of Auguſt: but he had to combat with the aſſembly and with the Jacobins.—What could he do more than what he did?"

"Perhaps," added I, "it would have been better that he had not done ſo much."

"That is very eaſy to ſay: but I will venture to ſtake my life that you will not find one in a hundred of your opinion, except amongſt the Jacobins."

"Perhaps you think," ſaid I, "that I belong to that ſociety?"

"To tell you the truth," anſwered he, "I rather ſuſpect it."

"Well," reſumed I, "you will be convinced to the contrary, when I aſſure you, that M. Bertrand has not a better friend upon earth than myſelf; that I have no intereſt in blaming him; and that no perſon

ſympathiſed more ſincerely than I did in his misfortunes."

"If that be the caſe, ſir, you really aſtoniſh me."

"In what?"

"Becauſe, for ſo affectionate a friend, you ſeem to have been very ſoon comforted for his death, if it ever gave you any uneaſineſs, ſince you laugh when it is mentioned."

"Oh! that is perhaps owing to my not being perfectly convinced of his death."

"What do you mean, ſir? Were you not at Paris?"

"I only left it on the 12th of this month."

"And did you not read, in all the journals, that M. Bertrand was maſſacred at Verſailles with the Orleans priſoners?"

"Yes, ſir; and I alſo heard his death proclaimed in the ſtreets, and I have a printed relation of it in my pocket: but I doubt the fact, notwithſtanding all this."

"And I, ſir, who am not more credulous than my neighbours, am, unhappily, but too

too well aſſured of the truth of it; becauſe, over and above the teſtimony of the journals, one of my friends was at Verſailles at the time, and ſaw him maſſacred. Yes, ſir—yes, ſir, you may laugh as you pleaſe, but my friend, who is a man of veracity, was an eye-witneſs, and told me of it."

"Don't be offended," anſwered I, laughing: "but moſt certainly, if your friend imagined that he ſaw M. Bertrand, there muſt be ſome fault in his viſion; he cannot view objects juſtly."

"This is rather too much. I have nothing to anſwer to ſuch jokes," ſaid he, turning from me angrily.

"I proteſt, ſir, that I am not in jeſt; and I only wiſh to make you eaſy reſpecting the fate of M. Bertrand, as you ſeem intereſted in him; and you may rely on what I ſay, that he is alive, and in good health."

"Can you ſuppoſe, ſir, that your opinion or aſſertion alone is ſufficient to make me eaſy? I ſhould be very happy indeed to have good grounds for believing that M. Bertrand is not dead. I am not rich,

but

but I would at this moment give five hundred louis to be aſſured of it."

"You certainly have acquired the right of being aſſured of his ſafety at a cheaper rate; and after thanking you, in M. Bertrand's name, for your praiſes, for your regret, and even for your anger, I muſt inform you that he is not dead, but in very good health; that he is at this moment going to England in the ſame packet-boat with you; and, in ſhort, that it is M. Bertrand himſelf who has the honour of ſpeaking to you."

"How, ſir!—M. Bertrand ſafe! Is it with him I have been converſing?—Ah! ſir, I aſk a thouſand pardons.—How happy I am to ſee you! But how have you eſcaped from theſe monſters?"

The good man was ſo tranſported with joy, that he cried and laughed in the ſame breath. When he had recovered his emotion, I told him my adventures, which he liſtened to with the greateſt attention. From that moment he attached himſelf to me, and offered me his ſervices in England, where he had paſſed the greateſt part

of

of his life. I did not heſitate in accepting his offer, and he ſeemed as much pleaſed and obliged as if I had rendered him an eſſential ſervice *.

During our converſation there aroſe a freſh gale of wind, and we arrived at Dover about nine o'clock at night. I ſet off for

* To this gentleman I am indebted for my acquaintance with a brave and worthy Britiſh general, (Robert Melville,) in whom I have found, not only the hoſpitable virtues which have entitled his country to the gratitude of all the French emigrants, but alſo the moſt warm and tender intereſt in the fate of our unfortunate monarch. This gentleman was, indeed, ſcarcely leſs ſhocked at the news of the deſperately atrocious murder of Louis XVI. than if he had been a natural-born Frenchman, the moſt gratefully and zealouſly devoted to his majeſty. I ſcarcely ever ſee him without his ſpeaking to me in the moſt ſympathetic terms of that cataſtrophe, and of the virtues of that good king. "Believe me, ſir," ſaid he to me, one day, "that when your countrymen ſhall be totally delivered from the tyranny of Robeſpierre, (for the ſpirit of that monſter ſtill attends them,) you will ſee, that the ſame perſons who, by fear and weakneſs, have called Louis XVI. *Louis the Tyrant*, and ſuffered him to be murdered, will juſtly ſtyle him Lewis the *overgood*, and make the day of his death a day of general mourning; an anniverſary, which would equally evince the ſentiments of true liberty, and of a dignified ſorrow worthy of a great nation."

London

London next day; and the news of my arrival made the more impreſſion, as the report of my having been maſſacred had been generally believed. I was informed by ſome emigrants, who had been that day at the king's levee, that his majeſty had the goodneſs to expreſs much ſatisfaction on hearing that I was in London; beſtowing, at the ſame time, very flattering encomiums on my conduct during my adminiſtration. Many perſons expreſſed an obliging curioſity of witneſſing my reception at court, and begged that I would let them know what day I was to be preſented to the king; but I deferred it until I ſhould receive my clothes and linen, which were to be ſent me from Paris as ſoon as my embarkation was known. In the mean time I waited upon Lord Grenville, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to beg that he would make my grateful acknowledgments to his majeſty and to the miniſters, for the ſatisfaction they had expreſſed at my ſafety. Some days afterwards a particular circumſtance

ſtance made me entirely give up the thoughts of appearing at court.

The day on which parliament met, I was, with ſeveral other perſons, at the window of a houſe in one of the principal ſtreets through which the king paſſed, in royal pomp, to the houſe of peers. Scarce had the king's coach appeared, when the cry of Huzza! Huzza! was repeated a thouſand times by the populace. On witneſſing this univerſal joy, my mind was painfully recalled to the misfortunes of my king, and the crimes of which my country was the theatre. The ſtriking contraſt betwixt the ſituation of George the Third, bleſſed by his people, and that of Louis the Sixteenth, impriſoned by his ſubjects, filled my heart with ſorrow; and I hurried from the place, to hide the tears which ran down my cheeks in abundance. From that moment I renounced the idea of being preſented to their majeſties, as the ſight of a king, queen, and royal family, in the full enjoyment of that reſpect and happineſs which are due to their high rank and cha-

racter, would have brought a painful contraſt to my memory, which I ſhould not have ſupported with any degree of compoſure.

Three days after my arrival in London, I received a letter from a friend at Boulogne, in which he congratulated me on having eſcaped two commiſſaries *de la commune* of Paris, who came to Boulogne on purpoſe to arreſt me. They arrived at the inn half an hour after my departure, and demanded that M. de Vandeberg might be delivered up to them.

I do not imagine that the commune of Paris knew that M. de Vandeberg and the exminiſter Bertrand was the ſame perſon: but I preſume that the ſpies which were in that inn had written an account of a man called Vandeberg, who kept himſelf ſhut up in his chamber; at the ſame time deſcribing my perſon. However this may be, it is certain, that if I had not been embarked, I ſhould have been arreſted, carried to Paris, and delivered up to the Jacobins.

After

After having thus ſecured my life againſt the dangers which threatened me, the king's ſituation, and the means of ſecuring my fortune for my children, became the principal objects of my thoughts. The violence of the new aſſembly had ſufficiently appeared. I was convinced that the king's trial was reſolved on, and would take place as ſoon as the promoters of ſo daring a meaſure ſhould think the public mind was able to endure it. In this ſituation of things, as I could not form an idea of what crime they could lay to his majeſty's charge, I thought that the beſt meaſure I could adopt was to endeavour to keep the public in ſuſpence reſpecting the juſtice of any poſſible accuſation; and I expected to ſucceed by announcing to the convention that I had certain important diſcoveries to make, the proofs of which I would tranſmit to them ſoon.

This was the object I had in view when I wrote the following letter, apparently on the ſubject of my own emigration:

To the President of the National Convention.

"LONDON, *Nov.* 6, 1792.

"Mr. President,

"Although the right of resisting oppression necessarily implies that of escaping from it, when every means of resistance are annihilated; as it is no less repugnant to my character, than to my principles, to fly from my enemies, and desert my country, I am eager to signify, under my own hand, to the national convention, my temporary absence from the kingdom, and the urgent circumstances which have rendered it indispensable. They are detailed in the acts, the substance of which follows:

"On the 11th of October, in the year 1792, I Antoine-François Bertrand de Moleville, late minister of state for the marine department, having experienced on the part of all the public officers to whom I addressed myself, the most formal refusal to retain or to expedite any act of mine, from the fear of exposing themselves to danger on my account, I have written the following declaration in my own hand, until

until circumſtances ſhall permit me to ſend it in a more authentic form.

" Being myſelf the object of a perſecution as unjuſt as barbarous, marked out as a perſon ſuſpected of the greateſt crimes, although I have not the ſlighteſt offence to reproach myſelf with, and there is not the ſhadow of a proof to bring againſt me, I have been reduced to the neceſſity of concealing myſelf for more than two months. I had undoubtedly a right to hope, that after ſo long a period, the rage of my enemies might have been ſoftened; but the fortunate accident which preſerved me from them, has only ſerved to irritate them the more. Not ſatisfied with attempts aimed at my perſon, and exerciſed againſt my property, the committee *de Surveillance de la Commune* did not heſitate to order my two brothers to be arreſted, without the exiſtence of any accuſation, and to be thrown into the priſons of the *Abbaye* and *de la Force*, a few days before the maſſacre of the priſoners; and, upon the repreſentation which the youngeſt of

the two endeavoured to make againſt the illegality of a groundleſs impriſonment, the commiſſary who examined him, made this ſhocking anſwer: "People of your rank have ſo long employed the *lettres de cachet* of deſpotiſm, it is now time to make you feel the *lettres de cachet* of the people." The people themſelves, however, had the juſtice, even on the horrible 2d of September, to ſpare my brothers, and openly to proclaim their innocence. My enemies thus diſappointed, attacked me in another quarter, and have completed my misfortunes, having very lately burnt to the ground the *chateau*, which was the principal reſidence of my family; and all the title deeds, furniture, and effects it contained, were devoured by the flames. My unfortunate father, already broken by the infirmities of age, ſunk under theſe accumulated calamities, and expired a few days after.

"Oppreſſed by the weight of this laſt misfortune, and unable to ſupport the idea of having been even the innocent cauſe of

ſo great a pecuniary loſs to my brothers, I did not heſitate one moment to take the only meaſure which could indemnify them. In conſequence whereof, I have already declared to them, and I again declare, that I renounce the ſucceſſion to my father in whatever it does or may conſiſt; and that I give my full conſent, that it may be divided according to law, as if I no longer exiſted; and as my preſent ſituation deprives me of all the means of giving to this declaration the neceſſary authenticity to inſure its validity, and as the ſucceſſion to my father is ſtill open, and can no longer remain in ſuſpence, I do hereby promiſe and oblige myſelf to find out, as ſoon as poſſible, in ſome foreign, but not hoſtile country, a public officer, who will receive in truſt this preſent deed, which I conclude with the following ſolemn declaration: That ſo far from wiſhing to abandon my country, where I have left every thing dear to me as a pledge for my return, I ſhall be very earneſt to go back as ſoon as the impunity of the greateſt crimes ſhall

ceaſe to be regarded as one of the prerogatives of liberty.

" Done at Paris, the day and year aforeſaid; and a copy of theſe preſents, written and ſigned by my own hand, as the original, was delivered by me on the ſame day to my two brothers, until ſuch time as I ſhould be enabled to ſend them a more formal deed.

(Signed) " DE BERTRAND."

" Anxious to fulfil ſo ſacred an engagement, and having, beſides, been for a long time deſirous of becoming acquainted with ſo celebrated a nation, I took my departure for England. The firſt ſtep after my arrival, was to renew, in an authentic form, drawn up by the notary of the *Legation* of France, my renunciation of all claim to my father's ſucceſſion, and to ſend it to my brothers.

" Such are the only motives for my departure. It is indeed perfectly evident, that had the beſt founded apprehenſions for my perſonal ſafety been ſufficient to induce me to quit France, I ſhould not have

delayed

delayed it ſo long; for I always had the beſt information concerning the meaſures which were taken to diſcover the place of my concealment, and to ſecure me in ſome of the priſons previous to the maſſacres of September, either at *La Force*, the *Abbaye*, or at Orleans, before that ever to be execrated epoch, the 2d of September. What then can be the motive of ſuch a continued rancour againſt me? This is difficult to explain, when it is conſidered that the continual perſecutions experienced by me, during my miniſtry, produced only one memorial; and that ſolely founded on three aſſertions, which appeared to be falſe by the report itſelf, as I have proved in my ſtatement to the aſſembly. It ought to be remembered, that the only object of the aſſembly's memorial to the king, was to prove, that I did not deſerve the confidence of the nation, although this propoſition had been formally rejected the preceding evening by a decree paſſed after the *appel nominal*. If it be poſſible that any doubts can ſtill remain concerning my innocence,

they will be entirely removed by the very decree of accuſation, which was paſſed on the 16th of Auguſt laſt, againſt thoſe perſons who were in the miniſtry on the 11th of the preceding November, and conſequently againſt me. That decree is founded ſolely upon ſome expreſſions, as vague as inſignificant, written in an unknown hand, on a piece of paper, which they pretended to have found in the king's apartment on the 10th of Auguſt. A man muſt be pure indeed, and perfectly free from any real error, to have the honour of being accuſed of an imaginary fault, upon a writing which, from every report, is evidently unworthy of credit.

"It muſt be acknowledged, however, that at a moment when the laws were without force, juſtice without miniſters, and innocence without ſupport; when the people, thinking they obſerved conſpirators and traitors on every ſide, and breathed nothing but vengeance; a decree of accuſation againſt miniſters might be conſidered as expedient for appeaſing the general ferment.

ment. I allow alſo, that the ſame circumſtances equally oppoſed the ſucceſs of the petitions addreſſed by me to the legiſlative body againſt this decree, four days after it paſſed; but, at this day, when the reeſtabliſhment of the empire of juſtice, and of the laws, is ſo ardently deſired by every citizen; when the people are ſenſible of the exceſſes into which they have been hurried, is it poſſible that ſuch a decree of accuſation can be maintained? It would be conſecrating a moſt ſhocking injuſtice; beſides, the dignity of the French nation does not permit its repreſentatives to iſſue a decree of accuſation upon ſuſpicions entirely vague, and without a ſhadow of proof. The moſt alarming abuſe which the members of the national aſſembly could make of their non-reſponſibility, would be to trifle with the lives, the liberty, and the honour of their fellow-citizens, in ſuch a manner. What remorſe muſt not thoſe members feel who have raſhly promoted, or feebly oppoſed decrees, by which ſo many perſons, the generality quite innocent,

cent, were thrown into priſon; in conſequence of which, they were afterwards put to the moſt horrid death?

"Firmly convinced, that the national convention will not chooſe to expoſe itſelf to ſimilar regrets, I have the honour of addreſſing to you my remonſtrances againſt the decree of the 16th of Auguſt; and I beſeech you, ſir, to lay it before the aſſembly. I would willingly hope that they will attend to it, and that my enemies will not have it in their power to prevent the juſtice of the aſſembly, by renewing thoſe calumnies which have ſerved as a motive for all the troubles they have forced me to endure, particularly the inquiſitions, as violent as fruitleſs, made not only at my own houſe, but alſo at thoſe of my relations and neighbours, under the pretence of diſcovering proofs of my ſuppoſed criminal correſpondence with the court, and of my being an accomplice in the conſpiracies, true or falſe, with which they accuſe the royal family. I give you, ſir, previous notice, that I ſhall addreſs, without

out delay, to the aſſembly an authentic declaration of all the important and unknown tranſactions which came under my obſervation during and ſince my adminiſtration, which have any relation to the preſent circumſtances. I will point out the evidences and proofs of all thoſe which the aſſembly ſhall be inclined to examine. I will unfold all I know; and what I ſhall ſay, may lead to many intereſting diſcoveries.

(Signed) "DE BERTRAND."

Memorial addreſſed to the National Convention againſt the decree of accuſation paſſed the 16th of Auguſt 1792, againſt the old miniſters.

"The powers of accuſing without any proof, and of puniſhing without legal judgment, are the attributes of the moſt ſhocking deſpotiſm. None of theſe powers can exiſt under a free government, in which

the repreſentatives of the nation are in the happy incapacity of violating the rights of men.

" The law ought to be the ſame to every perſon, whether it puniſhes or protects (Declaration of Rights, Art. 6.); and ſimilar faults ſhould be puniſhed with ſimilar chaſtiſements, without any perſonal diſtinction. (Tit. 1. Art. 3.)

" The memorial I now preſent to the convention, is ſo deeply founded upon the eſſential baſes of natural rights, that it is impoſſible to reject it without totally annihilating them.

" On the 16th of laſt Auguſt, upon the ſimple reading of a note pretended to have been found in the king's apartment, and dated the 11th of the preceding November, there was paſſed without examination, or previous diſcuſſion of the form of that writing, or its contents, a decree of accuſation againſt all the perſons who compoſed the then miniſtry, and conſequently againſt me.

" The

" The note is intitled, 'A *Plan* of the Committee of Miniſters, concerted with MM. Alexandre Lameth and Barnave.'

" I muſt declare and affirm, without danger of contradiction, 1ſt, That I was never acquainted either with MM. Lameth, nor Barnave: I only ſaw the latter once at my houſe, in the beginning of my adminiſtration, on the buſineſs of the colonies, of which he had been the reporter. I have not ſeen him ſince, and am ignorant what has become of him.

" 2dly, I have not the ſlighteſt knowledge of the note in queſtion, nor of its contents; and I affirm, that during my miniſtry, nothing of what is mentioned in that note, was ever ſpoken of at the council, or at any of the miniſterial committees where I aſſiſted.

" This affirmation could, undoubtedly, be of no effect againſt proof; but, in the preſent caſe, I have not the moſt trifling evidence to combat. In reality, before this writing can be conſidered as evidence, it muſt

muſt appear to have been written either in the king's own hand, or in that of one of his miniſters; for, if the merely being named or marked out in any writing found in the apartment of the king, were ſufficient to prove a man criminal, where is there an honeſt citizen who would be ſecure? It cannot be forgotten, that on the morning of the 10th of Auguſt, the king's apartments were open to all who choſe to enter; that it was as eaſy for them, privately to drop papers there, as it was to carry them away.

"But even although the note in queſtion had been written by the king himſelf, or one of his miniſters; and that this fact (concerning which the commiſſioners appointed to open the ſeals were ſilent) was completely eſtabliſhed, it would ſtill remain for examination, whether the project concerted by the miniſters with MM. Barnave and Lameth, was really contrary to the intereſts of the ſtate; for a project advantageous to the nation, ſurely cannot

appear

appear a crime in the eyes of its repreſentatives, whoever the perſons were who planned it.

" The firſt article of this note, and the one which has undoubtedly made the moſt forcible impreſſion, contains only two words.

" 1. *To refuſe the ſanction.*

" Upon this vague expreſſion, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that *the ſanction* being a right *eſſentially inherent* in royalty, and with which the monarch was perſonally inveſted by the conſtitution, not as the head of the executive power, but in the capacity of the repreſentative of the nation, I never ſaw the exerciſe of this right ſubmitted to the deliberations of the council. Upon decrees concerning the detail of office, the king heard only the obſervations which the miniſter of the particular department made to him; on other matters, he decided according to his information, and his conſcience.

" Theſe facts and principles, the accuracy of which cannot be queſtioned, ſhew

ſhew how contrary it would be to juſtice and the conſtitution, to pronounce a decree of accuſation againſt miniſters for an act with which they had no concern, and which was not within the line of their reſponſibility, whether they were conſulted concerning the ſanction or not.

"The four next articles relate to intended meaſures; ſome of which never took place.

"The remainder of this note aſſigns to the miniſters of juſtice, of foreign affairs, of war, and of the interior, parts to perform which none of them ever acted; and no mention was made in it of the miniſters of finance or marine.

"Thus, even although the paper ſhould be received as authentic, it would be impoſſible to diſcover the moſt trifling evidence againſt the two laſt.

"Behold then to what a writing is reduced, the mere reading of which produced a decree of accuſation *par acclamation* againſt all the miniſters in office in the month of laſt November? It is, undoubtedly,

doubtedly not aſtoniſhing, that in moments of confuſion and general irritation, the proclaiming a plot, concerted betwixt miniſters and perſons at that time ſuſpected, ſhould impel the majority of the aſſembly to the moſt unfavourable ſide: but although ſuch an impulſe may be juſtified by circumſtances, it will be oppreſſive in its effects, if the juſtice of the aſſembly do not ſtop them.

"Fortunately, indeed, the act of accuſation has not yet been drawn up, and conſequently there is ſtill time to ſubmit to a cool and deliberate examination this anonymous paper, deſtined to ſerve as the baſis of an accuſation, the moſt important which can be brought before the repreſentatives of the nation, ſince its neceſſary effect is at once to ſtain the characters of ſix miniſters with the ſuſpicion of treaſon, thereby drawing on them the fury of popular vengeance.

"In comparing the note in queſtion with the events which happened about the

time of its date, it is obvious it could not refer to any thing but to the meſſage of the 12th of November, the object of which was, in effect, to announce the refuſal of the ſanction to a decree concerning the emigrants, the proclamation publiſhed againſt them the ſame day, and the requiſitions addreſſed to the different foreign powers to prevent the aſſembling of Frenchmen in their dominions; conſequently this note, founded on idle conjectures and converſations which preceded the above meaſures, can only be conſidered as one of thoſe written hand-bills, ſo frequent at that time, to ſerve the purpoſes of private malice.

"After having thus demonſtrated, that a writing, from every conſideration ſo unworthy the attention of the legiſlative body, ought ſtill leſs to ſerve as a baſis for a capital accuſation, I will venture to claim in my favour, the benefit of thoſe forms, wiſely eſtabliſhed and conſtantly obſerved, until now, in matters of impeachment. It is without

without example, before the 16th of Auguſt, that a decree of accuſation ſhould be paſſed, even againſt a ſingle miniſter, without having the writings and facts, alleged againſt the accuſed, examined and verified by a committee, to which the perſon accuſed might apply. Even lately, an accuſation, probably ill-founded, but of a very ſerious nature, was brought againſt M. Servan. The legiſlative body did not heſitate to refer the examination of it to one of their committees; and until the report which was to be made had completely exculpated him, the aſſembly was ſo ſcrupulous of admitting any opinion unfavourable to M. Servan, that they recalled him to the miniſtry in that interval.

"Supported by this example, and by the declaration of the rights of men, which the new order of things has not annihilated, and the 6th article of which ſays, 'That the law ought to be the ſame for all, whether in giving protection or inflicting puniſhment;' I requeſt that the decree of

the 16th of laſt Auguſt be recalled, and conſequently that the note of the 11th of November 1792, ſaid to be found in the king's apartment, be referred to a committee of the national convention, and, on their report, that a deciſion ſhould be made according to law; and after ſuch examination, if the decree of accuſation againſt me ſhould be confirmed, being as void of fear as of guilt, I will offer myſelf to trial as ſoon as the empire of law and juſtice ſhall be reeſtabliſhed in France *.

(Signed) DE BERTRAND."

I certainly had no reaſon to expect to be conſidered as an emigrant, after having ſo ſolemnly declared the motives which forced me, not to abandon, but to withdraw myſelf, for a time, from my country; and after declaring that I would even ſubmit to the decree of accuſation †, if, upon the re-

* *Vide* Appendix, No. I.

† The date of this decree being the 16th of Auguſt 1792, that alone was a clear proof of its irregularity.

port

port of the committee to whoſe conſideration it was to be ſubmitted, that decree ſhould be confirmed. Even the atrocious code of Robeſpierre himſelf did not comprehend in the claſs of emigrants thoſe who had no other means than flight to avoid the poniard of the aſſaſſin; and I may venture to aſſert, that there is no perſon in France who is not convinced that I ſhould have long ſince loſt my life, if I had remained.

A few days after my departure, which the aſſembly knew nothing of until they received my letter, all the effects, moveable or immoveable, which belonged to me, or rather to my ſon, as ſubſtituted by my contract of marriage, were ſeized; and notwithſtanding the right to thoſe effects, which the ſevereſt laws againſt emigration left in my mother, brothers, ſiſter, wife, and children, all of whom remained in France, yet all this property was ſold while my family were ſhut up in different priſons, during the dreadful tyranny of Robeſpierre. But what ſeems more extraordinary, all

the remonſtrances they have made, and means they have ſince uſed, for their recovery, have been ineffectual. Is, then, the ſingular good fortune of having eſcaped to a land of freedom, from the fury of the Jacobins, looked upon, in France; as a crime of ſo deep a die, that my family muſt ſuffer for it? Let thoſe villains continue to throw upon me the epithets traitor, infamous perſon, liar, &c. &c.; I conſider myſelf as honoured by their reproaches. I have ever been ambitious of their hatred. Thank God, I have well deſerved it. I acknowledge that I neglected no opportunity of expoſing their wickedneſs. I did all I could (unhappily my efforts were vain) to ſave the beſt of kings, and to ſpare France the laſting odium of his murder. Such are my crimes. I repeat it—I glory in them; and I am ready to ſuffer on the ſcaffold if they can prove any other againſt me. But what are the crimes of my brothers and my children? Is it that they are ſuſpected

pected of regretting that my efforts have not been ſucceſsful? I hope they regret this—I am ſure they do; and if ſuch regrets be a crime, I congratulate them in having the worthieſt people of every nation, and particularly thoſe of France, as accomplices.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Preparations for the trial of the king.—Valazé and Mailhe's reports.—Declaration of M. de Septeuil, treaſurer of the civil liſt.—Declaration of M. de Graves, late miniſter.—M. de Narbonne.—My ſecond letter to the national convention.

THE ſame day in which I addreſſed the letters and papers, mentioned in the foregoing chapter, to the preſident of the aſſembly, the deliberations on the king's proceſs were opened, and the opinions, or rather vociferations, of the moſt atrocious villains of the kingdom, plainly ſhewed what would be the iſſue. The four following queſtions were ſubmitted to the diſcuſſion of the aſſembly:

1ſt, Are there grounds of accuſation againſt Lewis the Sixteenth?

2d, Can he be tried?

3d, By whom ought he to be tried?

4th, What

4th, What forms ought to be adopted on the trial?

The only difficulty the aſſembly could have was on the firſt of theſe queſtions; becauſe it could not be decided but upon very plain and important facts, of which the people, whoſe approbation it was neceſſary to ſecure, were capable of judging. Whereas it was eaſy to render the diſcuſſion of the three other queſtions unintelligible, by overcharging them, as they did, with abſtract metaphyſical diſſertations on the right of nations, on the ſovereignty of the people, and on the conſtitution and the criminal code.

The report made the 6th of November, by Dufriche Valazé, ran chiefly on the firſt queſtion, namely, whether there were grounds of accuſation againſt Lewis? This conſiſted entirely of declamations, indecently violent, founded upon vague reports, totally inſignificant or unintelligible, upon aſſertions evidently falſe, and on acts for which the miniſters alone were reſponſible. The only articles of accuſation for

which

which they were not reſponſible, and which the reporter aſſerted would be ſupported by authentic papers, were the following:

In the firſt place, the king's participation in the pretended plot of the marquis de Bouillé againſt the nation.

Secondly, Tranſmitting their appointments to the *gardes du corps*, who were at Coblentz.

Thirdly, Favouring the emigrations, and granting pecuniary ſuccours to the emigrants.

Fourthly, The monopolizing of corn, ſugar, and coffee, for his own profit.

Fifthly, A deſign to overturn the conſtitution, to which he had ſworn to be faithful.

Sixthly, The eſtabliſhment of a new order of knighthood among the emigrants, with the title of *Knights of the Queen.*

The Moniteurs, containing an extract of the report made on the 7th, which only treated of the queſtion of the inviolability, arrived in London on the 12th of October.

I was

I was no ſooner informed of this than I ſearched in my notes for every fact that might tend to diminiſh the unfavourable impreſſion which the two reports might have produced. I mentioned all theſe facts in a ſecond letter to the national aſſembly. M. de Septeuil alſo addreſſed a declaration to the aſſembly, made before a notary, and confirmed by his oath, taken before the mayor of London, atteſting, that no appointment had been paid to the *gardes du corps*, nor to any perſon belonging to the king's ancient houſehold, except to ſuch as ſhewed him the certificate for reſidence in France, ordered by the decree of the aſſembly, although every one of the *gardes du corps*, whether they had emigrated or not, were included in the liſt preſented to the aſſembly by the reporter; which liſts had been drawn up in this manner, becauſe they had no legal proof of the emigration of any individual among them. But this liſt, ſo far from proving that the emigrated *gardes du corps* had received pay, proved preciſely the contrary, as their appoint-

appointments were mentioned in the lists as a memorandum, and the money still remained in the chest of the civil list on the 10th of August 1792, conformable to the king's express order sent by M. de la Porte to M. de Septeuil *.

The chevalier de Graves, formerly minister of the war department, sent, at the same time, from London, a declaration in justification of the king, respecting certain acts which had taken place in his department. M. de Narbonne, his predecessor, with loyal generosity, offered, in a printed letter addressed to the convention, to be responsible for every accusation with which the king was charged; and he invited all the ancient ministers of France, at that time in London, to take the same step in concert with him: but having seriously considered the matter, it appeared to us as visionary as useless; because, as ministers, we were of course responsible to the nation for whatever was done in our own department;

* *Vide* Appendix, No. II.

and

and it was not poſſible to conceive that our reſponſibility would be accepted for what was done out of our department. Although we did not think proper to adopt the propoſal of M. de Narbonne, we did not the leſs acknowledge the generoſity of his intentions.

I made my ſecond letter to the convention ſtill more public than the firſt. Beſides 1500 copies printed in London, which I ſent to France, there were other editions printed and diſtributed in Paris the ſame week. I omitted mentioning, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, the contents of this letter, as I thought it would be proper to inſert the letter itſelf, as an authentic paper connected with the king's trial.

" London, Nov. 16, 1792.

" Mr. Preſident,

" I had the honour of announcing, in my laſt letter, that I ſhould, without delay, addreſs to you an exact declaration of all the important and unknown facts with which I am acquainted, and which have any

any relation to the preſent circumſtances. I am the more eager to fulfil this engagement, ſince I learn, from the public papers, that the great queſtion, Whether Lewis the Sixteenth ought to be tried? is at preſent open for diſcuſſion, and that the national convention are diſpoſed to receive lights and proofs from every quarter on that momentous ſubject. I flatter myſelf it will receive, with ſatisfaction, thoſe I now have the honour of addreſſing to you, becauſe I am firmly convinced that it ſeeks nothing but truth, and deſires nothing but juſtice. This conviction alone is ſufficient to allay the inquietudes of good citizens, and to keep up the hopes of thoſe who, having had opportunities of nearly obſerving the conduct of Lewis the Sixteenth, and of knowing his virtues, cannot help taking a great intereſt in his misfortunes.

"The following, then, are the facts, the truth of which I atteſt, and of which I can either give or point out proofs:

On the pretended favours and aſſiſtance given to the emigrants.

"It is publiſhed in all the journals and in all the pamphlets, and has been repeated a thouſand times from the tribune, that the king always approved of and favoured emigration. This opinion, unſupported by proof, has become general in the kingdom, and is the principal motive of the regicide addreſſes daily received.

"Towards the end of October 1791, one of the miniſters having informed the king, in full council, of a report, generally circulated, that the emigrants in arms againſt France, and particularly the body guards, were in the pay of the civil liſt, 'This,' replied the king, in the firmeſt tone, 'is an egregious calumny, for I have, on the contrary, given the moſt expreſs orders to M. de la Porte, that none ſhould receive pay but thoſe who were able to ſhew the certificate required by the decree of laſt July 1791. I am certain this order is put in execution. It was propoſed to me to make

an exception in favour of the *gardes du corps*, but I refuſed.'

"Notwithſtanding this order, the exiſtence of which can be atteſted by many deputies to whom it was originally communicated, and which muſt have been found among the papers of M. de Septeuil, they have continued to give out, that the emigrated *gardes du corps* were paid by the civil liſt; and this is affirmed as certain, in the 10th and 11th pages of the report made to the aſſembly at the ſitting of the 27th of September laſt. The reporter was not aware that the only writings cited by him, in ſupport of his aſſertion, clearly demonſtrate its falſehood. The firſt is a memorial found in the king's writing-deſk, in which M. de Poix propoſed the paying the whole corps of *gardes du corps* up to the 1ſt of January 1792. If the king had approved this propoſal, he would have affixed his aſſent to the memorial, and ſent it to the intendant of the civil liſt. Thus, from the circumſtance alone of this memorial being found in the king's writing-deſk, without

without any mark of his approbation, is a complete proof that the payment propoſed by M. de Poix had not been ordered by the king. As to thoſe orders of payment ſigned by the king at the bottom of the general liſts of the four companies of his guards, it is ſufficient to compare thoſe liſts with the regiſter of payments, to be convinced, that in reality only thoſe of the *gardes du corps*, who proved their reſidence according to the form preſcribed by the decree, were paid; and that if the ordinance liſts contained all the names, it proceeded entirely from an ignorance of who had, and who had not emigrated. For the ſame reaſon the miniſters of war and marine, in their reſpective departments, regulated, in a ſimilar manner, the general liſts of the officers of the different corps, without violating the decree concerning the certificates of reſidence, becauſe its execution was always guaranteed by the vigilance and perſonal reſponſibility of the treaſurers, conformably to the regulations of this decree. It is alſo proved, by a letter of M. de Poix,

in the 16th page of the thirteenth collection of papers found in the houſe of M. de la Porte, that the execution of theſe orders for payment of the *gardes du corps* was ſo much retarded, that on the 28th of laſt January there had been nothing paid of the arrears due for the firſt ſix months of 1791.

" Were I now to cite the letters written by the king, in the beginning of October 1791, to the officers of the army, and of the corps of marines, to induce thoſe who had left the kingdom to return, and to retain thoſe who intended to emigrate, I ſhould undoubtedly be told, that theſe letters, being the works of the miniſters, no concluſion could be drawn from them: but I declare, that the minute written to the officers of marine remained two days in the king's poſſeſſion, who, with his own hand, made many corrections in it, ſome in the margin, others interlined; and this minute, with many other important papers, muſt have been found in a red port-folio, which the commiſſioners of the committee of *Surveillance de la commune* carried away from

from my houſe with my other papers. I muſt preſume that this writing has been ſuppreſſed, ſince there is no mention made of it in the report made to the aſſembly the 6th of this month. It would, however, be of the more importance to produce this paper, becauſe the corrections in it being the king's own, the free and pure expreſſion of his ſentiments may there be found. I have no doubt, therefore, but the national convention feels the neceſſity of ordering that paper to be ſearched for and produced.

" The king expreſsly commanded me to employ, in his name, every method of perſuaſion and authority to prevent the emigration of the officers of marine; and if the execution of this order had not all the ſucceſs I could have deſired, I at leaſt uſed every exertion in my power; and am not afraid, on this point, to call upon the teſtimony of the chief clerks of my office. I cannot, indeed, quote many written proofs, but ſhall mention one of ſufficient weight to render any other unneceſſary from me.

A ſuperior officer, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, having been forced, by frequent outrages, to give up his command, came to Paris, laſt February, with the intention of leaving the kingdom. After having in vain attempted, by my advice and exhortations, to diſſuade him from his purpoſe, I mentioned the affair to the king, who authoriſed me to ſend him an order, couched almoſt in ſimilar terms with the old *lettres de cachet*. The words follow:

" ' Sir,

" ' Being informed that your knowledge and experience enable you to give important information concerning the marine ſervice, my pleaſure is, that you hold yourſelf in readineſs to furniſh the miniſter of that department with the informations he may require from you. On this account I prohibit you from leaving Paris until further order, under pain of diſobedience.

(Signed) LOUIS.

And under, DE BERTRAND.'

" The

"The minute of this order, addreſſed to M. de Marigni, ſhould be found in my office, *bureau des officiers*, amongſt the minutes of the month of February. If it has been accidentally withdrawn, M. de Marigni, who has not left Paris, will produce the original.

"I muſt here declare, that amongſt the officers whom I perſuaded to ſtay at Paris, to inſure their not leaving the kingdom, there were ſome unable to ſupport themſelves, to whom the king ordered different ſums of money to be paid, ſometimes by me, at other times by M. de la Porte. The laſt which was ſent to me by the king, for this purpoſe, was the ſum of 12,000 livres, in the beginning of March 1792. If the national convention be deſirous minutely to examine this matter, I can point out to whom the money was given.

"How then is it poſſible to reconcile the reproaches which are thrown out againſt the king, relative to the emigrants, with all theſe facts, none of which can be diſputed?

On the treaſons and conſpiracies in which it is pretended the king had a ſhare.

"Theſe names certainly cannot be given to the meaſures, always weak and inſufficient, taken for the perſonal ſecurity of the king, and of which he never failed to prevent the effect, when he obſerved the avowed aſſaſſins accompanied by a party of the people; becauſe, while ſurrounded by them, he was always confident that he had no danger to fear. We ſaw him, on the 20th of June, remove from his perſon thoſe faithful ſervants who were ready to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in his defence, and preſent himſelf, accompanied by four national guards, to the armed multitude, who had come to force open the gates of the palace.

"It is impoſſible, at this day, to doubt, that a formidable conſpiracy was formed againſt the court. The deputies Louvet and Barbaroux arrived, and atteſted this important fact in the tribune, in the ſitting of the 30th of October. 'It was at Charenton,'

renton,' ſaid they, 'that the conſpiracy againſt the court was fixed to be executed on the 29th of July, but which did not take place until the 10th of Auguſt,' (Moniteur of the 1ſt of November, page 1298. col. 3.) The king having been informed of this, did undoubtedly take ſome precautions to defend the palace from this impending attack: but as ſoon as he knew, from the members of the directory of the department, that thouſands of the citizens and national guards had joined the conſpirators who ſurrounded the palace, he did not heſitate to deliver himſelf and family to the national aſſembly, leaving orders for the Swiſs not to fire *. It is indeed certain, that the gates

* When the king had determined to deliver himſelf up to the aſſembly, he ſpoke to the miniſters and others, who were around him, theſe memorable, though too little known words: "Let us depart, gentlemen; there is nothing for us to do here." This was certainly giving the cleareſt and moſt poſitive order to ſtay no longer at the palace, ſince nothing was to be done there. And if this order had (as it ought) been officially conveyed to the Swiſs officers and guards, they would have all retired; the entry to the palace would have been left open; and though perhaps it might

gates of the Court Royal were forced without any reſiſtance on the part of the Swiſs, who did not fire until five of their companions had been maſſacred at the bottom of the great ſtair. The events of the 10th of Auguſt can, no more than thoſe of the 20th of June, furniſh the ſlighteſt cauſe of accuſation againſt the king. It is therefore neceſſary to look for proofs in his conduct prior to theſe periods. But it is impoſſible, with any ſhare of candour, to form concluſions againſt him from letters, memorials, or plans, addreſſed to him, and which

have been demoliſhed, yet not a muſket would have been fired, or a drop of blood ſhed. Unfortunately this order was not conveyed to the Swiſs. From thence it followed, on the one hand, that the Swiſs, the national guards, and all thoſe who had repaired to the palace to defend the king, believed he was only anxious about his perſonal ſafety, and complained that he had abandoned them; while, on the other, the people believed that the king, at his departure, had ordered the reſiſtance and firing which happened. Such is the origin of the ſuſpicions and clamours againſt the pretended treaſons of the king, and the conſpiracies of the court. Theſe details are corroborated by ſo many ocular witneſſes, that it is impoſſible I can ever call their truth in queſtion. They prove that the reproaches againſt the king are not better founded on one ſide than on the other.

were

were found, or ſaid to be found, either in the palace or the houſe of M. de la Porte. If treaſonable or criminal writings could involve the perſons to whom they are addreſſed, the lives of the moſt innocent and moſt virtuous of mankind would always be in the power of the moſt wicked.

" With regard to the numerous writings, the impreſſions of which were paid out of the civil liſt, and which are quoted as ſo many proofs of treaſon, it is ſufficient to remark, that before the abolition of royalty, the ante-republican writings were ſo much the leſs reprehenſible, that at the memorable ſitting of the 7th of July laſt, the aſſembly decreed unanimouſly, and by acclamation, that thoſe who ſhould propoſe a republican government, or the eſtabliſhment of two chambers, ſhould be devoted to public execration. The violent writers on both ſides were indeed equally diſtant from the ſpirit and principles of the conſtitution; and their incendiary productions ſupported and maintained the agitation of the people. It was incumbent on the king to turn his attention

to

to the ſerious inconveniences which muſt have reſulted from hence. Obliged by his oath to maintain the conſtitution by every poſſible means, his authority and his duty prompted him to chooſe as one of thoſe means, the inſtructing of the people by prudent conſtitutional writings, which might operate as antidotes to the dangerous pamphlets daily publiſhed. It is, however, certain, that both my colleagues and myſelf conſidered it as our duty to give this advice to the king, and accordingly we often did give it. Thus it is very poſſible ſuch an order was given to the intendant of the civil liſt. As to the method in which it was executed, every body muſt be ſenſible the king could not poſſibly enter into all the detail of the buſineſs. Beſides, it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that the moſt culpable execution of a lawful order can never involve the perſon who gives that order, but only he who executes it. An order to diſtribute prudent and conſtitutional writings was certainly legal. The king had the right of giving ſuch an order, and he aſ-

ſuredly gave no other. But the following facts perſonally concern the king, and from them we can judge of his true ſentiments.

First Fact.

" I ſhewed the greateſt reluctance to accept the miniſtry; and I cannot deny that my principal reaſon for this reluctance was my uncertainty of the real ſentiments of the king relative to the conſtitution. He was informed of this; and when I was preſented to him, on the 3d of October, by the miniſter of the home department, he addreſſed me, in his preſence, in the very words which follow:

" ' I know your uneaſineſs, and do not blame your deſiring to know how it is expected that you ſhould conduct yourſelf. I now inform you, that I do not pretend to conſider the conſtitution as unexceptionable. I am even convinced, that had not the aſſembly prohibited the receiving my obſervations, it would have adopted the principal alterations which I would have propoſed.

propoſed. But that is now over. I have accepted the conſtitution in its preſent form. The general opinion is in its favour; we can therefore no longer think of changes, until experience ſhall make us feel the neceſſity of them; for force can do nothing againſt opinion. The ſucceſs of this experience depends upon the fidelity with which the conſtitution is carried into execution; and it is my intention to execute it as completely and as well as poſſible. Such, then, is the line of conduct I have marked out for *myſelf*, and I require my miniſters not to depart from it. If the means for carrying it into execution may appear inſufficient, or if they experience embarraſſments, let them appeal to the aſſembly.'

"The queen, to whom I was preſented the ſame day, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe; and concluded with ſaying, 'Obſerve the plan the king has adopted; I think it is the only reaſonable one, and hope you will not make him change it.'

"I affirm this fact upon my honour and conſcience, and will ſupport this affirmation

tion with my oath, which I offer to renew before whatever perſon, and in whatever form, the aſſembly ſhall think proper to preſcribe. Upon my return home, I immediately made a memorandum of what the king and queen had ſaid. This memorandum, dated the 3d of October, was in the ſame red port-folio which the commiſſioners of the committee *de Surveillance de la commune* carried away. If the national convention think proper to order that it ſhould be ſearched for, it will not be difficult to have it laid before them.

SECOND FACT.

" Towards the end of December laſt, or the beginning of January, an old officer, retired from the ſervice, came to conſult me, at the office of marine, upon a propoſal which had been made to him, the evening before, to enter into an aſſociation with ſome gentlemen, to eſcort the king, who intended, as they ſaid, ſoon to leave the kingdom. The perſon who made this propoſal to him introduced himſelf at his houſe

under the title of a marechal de camp, and gave him twenty-four hours to reflect on the ſubject. I adviſed the perſon who gave me this information to ſhew a diſpoſition to join the aſſociation, provided they would explain to him the whole of their plan, their means of executing it, and inform him of the perſons who were engaged in it. I expreſsly enjoined him to forget nothing they might tell him, and particularly to make himſelf acquainted with the name and reſidence of this marechal de camp. He promiſed to acquaint me ſoon with the reſult of his ſecond converſation. He accordingly gave me, the very next day, a detailed account of what paſſed. I took an exact memorandum of it, which I read the ſame night at the council. The king was full of indignation, and ordered the miniſter of the home department immediately to denounce this aſſociation to the directory of the department, and to enjoin him to make every poſſible ſearch after this pretended marechal de camp, to watch him narrowly, and even to ſeize his perſon, if there

there ſhould be occaſion. As this letter was inſtantly written by M. Cahier de Gerville, and ſent directly after the council, it is poſſible that he did not keep a memorandum of it: but the original may be eaſily found among the papers of the directory of the department. The inquiries ordered by the king were carefully made. They diſcovered the uſual reſidence of this man, but he had concealed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that it was not poſſible to ſeize him. It appeared, moreover, by the accounts obtained at the police-office, concerning him, that he was a worthleſs, wrong-headed fellow. But whatever truth there is in this, the conduct of the king, in this affair, proves, at leaſt, that he did not favour aſſociations formed under pretence of conſulting his perſonal ſafety.

THIRD FACT.

"In January laſt, M. Cahier de Gerville, reading in the council a rough draught of a proclamation, the king interrupted him at the expreſſion, "*the love of my people*," and deſired

deſired him to correct it by inſerting the words, " the love of *the French people.*" 'I can no longer,' added he, with emotion, and his eyes ſwelled with tears, 'I can no longer ſay *my* people: but they cannot prevent that from being the expreſſion of my heart.'

" This intereſting fact can be atteſted by the miniſters who then compoſed the council; and I require all thoſe who have been in it, either before or ſince, to declare whether they did not obſerve; in many inſtances, that one of the moſt prevailing ſentiments with the king was that of a moſt tender and affectionate attachment to the French people. It is not yet forgotten, that on the day of his arrival from Varennes, one of the principal officers of his houſehold expreſſing his regret at the ill-ſucceſs of that expedition, and particularly at the increaſe of credit and power which it would give to the aſſembly, the king immediately made this remarkable anſwer: 'So much the better, a thouſand times; ſo much the better, provided it conduces to the happineſs of the people.'

FOURTH

FOURTH FACT.

" At the ſitting of the 6th of this month, the reporter Valazé read a note, found in my houſe, concerning a new order of knighthood called that of the *queen*; and in order to give this writing (which juſtly excited the riſibility of the aſſembly) more importance, he ſaid it was found in my port-folio. The reporter Valazé is miſtaken; and if the aſſembly will order the verbal proceſs, which took place at the examination of my papers, to be looked into, it will appear, that this writing was not found in any of my port-folios, but in a different place, which I ſhall not name. It would have been difficult to have read it, had they not ſeparated it from a letter which was incloſed under the ſame ſeal. This letter, dated the beginning of September or October 1790, was nearly in the following terms:

" ' I ſend you the note which I mentioned the day before yeſterday. I muſt forewarn you, that I had it from one whoſe

fancy is a little exalted; ſo you may believe what you pleaſe of it.'

"The place in which it was found proves that I had formed the ſame judgment concerning it with the national convention.

"The members of the committee *de Surveillance de la commune*, who ſpent nine hours in examining theſe papers, found alſo a liſt of an Auſtrian committee, compoſed of about thirty fictitious names. They were eager to ſeize that writing, which they at firſt conſidered as a moſt important diſcovery. Fortunately, however, the key to thoſe names was written in the ſecond column of the ſame page, and contained the names of MM. Syées, Condorcet, Briſſot, Robeſpierre, &c. &c. But had this key been written upon a different ſheet, and could they have as eaſily ſeparated it from this liſt as they did the note concerning the order of *Chevaliers de la Reine*, from the letter above mentioned, they might then have employed the liſt as a ſtrong proof of the exiſtence of an Auſtrian committee.

"Such

"Such then are the facts which I thought it incumbent on me to make known to the aſſembly. Their accuracy will be eſtabliſhed by the proofs which I cite, which can be verified by the witneſſes whom I point out. I ſhould have had a much greater number to preſent, if the cataſtrophe of the month of September had not driven from France, or deſtroyed, the perſons who could have atteſted the truth.

(Signed) DE BERTRAND *."

* *Vide* Appendix, No. III.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The convention reſumes the diſcuſſions reſpecting the king's trial.—Several emigrants requeſt to be allowed to appear in his majeſty's defence.—Certain papers on that ſubject addreſſed by me to the miniſter Garat, requeſting him to tranſmit them to the king.—Means uſed with ſucceſs to abate the fury of Danton.—A letter to M. de Maleſherbes.—His anſwer.—The declaration of M. de Bouillé.—Second letter of M. de Maleſherbes.—Denunciation of prevarications in the king's trial.—Anſwer of M. de Maleſherbes reſpecting M. de Bouillé's declaration.

THE eagerneſs and ſatisfaction with which all publications, favourable to the king, were read, multiplied theſe writings daily, and animated the hopes of the royaliſts ſo much the more, as the convention,

tion, alarmed and uncertain of the real ſentiments of the people, had thought proper to ſuſpend the diſcuſſion relating to his majeſty's proceſs, for ſome days; and it was only taken up, upon a motion made on the 23d of November, by Couthon, one of the wickedeſt villains of this aſſembly.

"The departments are aſtoniſhed," ſaid he, "that the convention has ſuſpended the diſcuſſion upon the late king. I know that all traces of royalty vaniſhed when the republic was proclaimed: but foreign nations obſerve you; your enemies watch you; and the nation claims the juſtice which is due to it. I do not deſire you to dedicate your whole time to this affair: but I requeſt you will aſſign two days in every week to it, commencing from Wedneſday the 28th of November."

This propoſal was decreed.

As ſoon as we heard this diſtreſſing news, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed orators of the firſt aſſembly, namely, Meſſieurs de Cazales, Malouet, and Lally, addreſſed to

the aſſembly a requeſt to be included in the number of the king's advocates. Although there was not much probability that their requeſt would be granted, Meſſieurs Malouet and Lally prepared their pleadings. That of M. de Malouet being finiſhed in a few days, and appearing to me very much calculated to produce a good effect in Paris, and throughout the kingdom, I publiſhed it at my own expence, and ſent two thouſand copies into France; I alſo addreſſed them to all the departments, and to the principal municipalities. I added an addreſs to the citizens, by the chevalier de Graves, which was alſo printed.

As theſe different writings contained a ſolid refutation of the imputations raiſed againſt the king, in the reports of Mailhe and Valazé, I incloſed them within a cover, on which I wrote the following words, "Writings in defence of Lewis the Sixteenth." I ſent this packet to Garat, miniſter of juſtice, with a formal requiſition that he would deliver it to the king. This ſame packet contained a copy of the decla-

ration of the chevalier de Graves, and the copy of another declaration which the marquis de Bouillé propoſed making, relative to the journey to Varennes, and the employment of the money which the king had ordered to be remitted to him upon that occaſion.

When the king's proceſs was firſt deliberated upon in the convention, Danton, the infamous Danton, whoſe ſervices had been ſo highly paid by the civil liſt, was one of thoſe who ſhewed the moſt violence and inveteracy. This alarmed me greatly, becauſe the popularity which that villain then enjoyed gave him great influence in the aſſembly. My ardent deſire of ſaving the king made me conſider every meaſure as juſtifiable which tended to that end; and I made no ſcruple of employing falſehood in order to tame the fury of that monſter. On the 11th of December I ſent him the following letter;

" You ought no longer to remain ignorant, ſir, that amongſt the papers entruſted to my care, about the end of laſt June, by

the late M. de Montmorin, and which I have brought to this country with me, I find a note of different ſums, which you received from the funds for ſecret expences of the foreign department. The occaſions on which you received theſe ſums, and the different dates, are ſpecified; as alſo the perſon who negociated that affair. Your connection with this perſon is clearly proved by a letter in your own hand, pinned to the note in queſtion, which is entirely in the hand-writing of M. de Montmorin.

"I have not hitherto made any uſe of thoſe papers; but I warn you, that they are joined to a letter I have written to the preſident of the national convention; and which I ſend by this ſame courier, incloſed to a confidential friend, with orders to ſend the letter to the preſident, and to cauſe your billet and the note to be printed, and placarded in the corner of every ſtreet, if you do not conduct yourſelf in the king's affair as a man who has been ſo well paid ought to do. But if, on the contrary, you

exert yourſelf, to render him the ſervices which you have in your power, be aſſured they will not paſs unrewarded. You need have no uneaſineſs with regard to this letter, as nobody ſhall know that I have written to you.

(Signed) BERTRAND."

* The truth of this matter was, that M. de Montmorin had communicated the affair to me, and ſhewed me the papers, but never gave them into my hands, as I had aſſerted to Danton, who, knowing the intimacy in which I had been with M. de Montmorin, could not doubt, after what I had written, of my having them in my poſſeſſion. I received no anſwer to my letter; but I ſaw by the public papers, that two days after that in which he muſt have received it, he cauſed himſelf to be deputed to the northern army, and did not return to Paris till the day before ſentence was pronounced on the king. He voted for death at the *appel nominal*; but without ſup-

ſupporting his opinion, as was his cuſtom, by reaſoning, or any diſcourſe whatever.

How much was it to have been wiſhed, that, at this dreadful criſis, ſome means had alſo been deviſed for terrifying or alluring from the capital, Robeſpierre, Marat, Barrere, Petion, and all theſe conſummate villains, who, that they might aſſaſſinate Lewis XVI. with more certainty, got themſelves conſtituted his judges, and aſſociated in their deſign all the obſcure vagabonds of the provinces, by giving them to underſtand, that this crime was the only means left for them to emerge from want and obſcurity, to wealth and power!

The news of M. de Maleſherbes being included amongſt his majeſty's advocates, and of the honours paid him by the people on this occaſion, ſupported our hopes. I loſt no time in tranſmitting, by a ſure hand, to this faithful and virtuous friend of the king, all the papers which had been publiſhed in London, in favour of the intereſting cauſe which he had undertaken. He

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acknowledged the receipt of my packet by the following note:

"M. de Malesherbes received on the 16th of December, from M. Bertrand, two copies of printed letters, and an address from a great many of the French. He likewise received a sealed packet, addressed to M. Tronchet, which probably contains copies of the same papers, and which was sent as directed.

"M. de Malesherbes already knew the contents of these papers. The very morning on which he received them, he carried them to Lewis XVI. who is so strictly guarded, that he had never heard of M. Bertrand's letters, although all Paris knew of them. M. de Malesherbes returned again in the evening to the Temple; the prisoner had, by that time, read the letters, and approved of the contents."

It evidently appeared by this note, that the packets I had addressed to the minister Garat had never been delivered to his majesty; and as they contained papers which might be useful in his defence, I wrote to M. de Malesherbes to desire he would claim them

them at the *Chancellerie*; and foreſeeing that theſe packets might poſſibly be loſt or concealed, I again wrote to M. de Malesherbes, four days after, incloſing a copy of M. de Bouillé's declaration, it being the paper of greateſt conſequence that I had ſent to the king. The contents were as follows:

"François Claude Amour de Bouillé, formerly general of the army on the Meuſe and the Moſelle, denominated the centre army, at preſent in the town of London, depoſes upon oath, That in the beginning of May 1790, commanding then in the province of *Trois Evêchés*, he ſent his diſmiſſion to the miniſter of war, with a deſign of quitting the ſervice and the kingdom: that he had hitherto refuſed to take the oath which the national aſſembly exacted from all the general officers; but the king wrote to him with his own hand, deſiring that he would continue in the ſervice, and acknowledge the new conſtitution, and take the oath to it, as required by the national aſſembly, which his majeſty declares will be the moſt effectual means of enabling

abling the ſaid Bouillé to promote the happineſs of the people, and to ſerve his majeſty; which letter from the king, is at preſent with many other papers belonging to M. de Bouillé in Holland, where he left them on coming from thence to England.

"He alſo depoſes, That he anſwered the king's letter, aſſuring him that he would obey his majeſty's order, and take the oath as he deſired; but that, in ſo doing, he made him the greateſt ſacrifice which could be made by man.

"The ſaid M. de Bouillé further declares, That, as ſoon as he was aſſured of the king's being arreſted at Varennes, he left the kingdom; that he had, at that time, in his hands ſix hundred thouſand livres, being what remained of the ſum of nine hundred and ninety-three thouſand livres, which had been depoſited in his hands, by order of the king, for the expence of the intended journey of the royal family to Montmedi: that being now deprived of

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the means of any communication with his majeſty, he thought it his duty to remit the ſix hundred thouſand livres to Monſieur. But he was afterwards informed by a letter which M. de Choiſeul wrote to him by the king's deſire, that his majeſty was diſpleaſed at his having diſpoſed of the money to the princes, as he wiſhed, on the contrary, to have the whole ſum returned to himſelf. This letter from M. de Choiſeul is with M. de Bouillé's other papers in Holland.

"M. de Bouillé further declares, That it was not the king who cauſed the ſum of a hundred thouſand livres to be given to M. Hamilton, formerly colonel of the regiment of Naſſau; but that it was M. de Bouillé himſelf who placed the ſaid ſum into Mr. Hamilton's hands, in truſt, at the time of the king's evaſion from Paris; and this made part of the original ſum, as appears by the receipt.

"M. de Bouillé moreover adds, That he intends, in a few days, to return to Holland,

land, where he ſhall be ready, if required, to give up the papers here enumerated.

" Sworn at the houſe of the Mayor of London, on the 27th of December 1792.

Signed in my preſence,
JAMES SANDERSON, Mayor *."

My conjectures reſpecting the packet addreſſed to Garat the miniſter were well founded, as appears from a letter I received from M. de Maleſherbes in the beginning of January, which is too remarkable to be ſuppreſſed.

" I incloſe the explanations you require in your laſt letter to me. You will perceive that I ſpeak of you in the third perſon; becauſe, not knowing in what part of London you lived, I commiſſioned one of our countrymen, at preſent there, to give you the explanations of which I now ſend you a copy.

" I was afraid that my letter, which was ſent to the poſt this morning, would be in-

* *Vide* Appendix, No. IV.

tercepted,

tercepted, I therefore ſend you a duplicate, as I have been juſt informed of a perſon who is ſetting off for Calais, who will deliver it ſafely into your hand.

" You know, ſir, that I am now more than ever, with ſincere attachment,

" Your obedient, &c.

" MALESHERBES."

The duplicate in queſtion was as follows:

" The miniſter of juſtice received a packet from M. Bertrand, to be delivered to Lewis XVI. containing papers for his juſtification. The miniſter, not having any communication with the priſoner, ſent the packet to the national convention.

" The ſame miniſter has ſince received another letter from M. Bertrand, incloſing a packet addreſſed to me; upon which was wrote, 'Papers in juſtification of Lewis XVI.' From this ſuperſcription, the miniſter thought it indiſpenſable to ſend this packet alſo to the national convention. I

received

received this account from the miniſter himſelf, when I went to claim the packet.

" As I knew that it had been laid before a committee by the convention, I went to the committee myſelf; and, in the name of him whoſe cauſe I am to defend, I claimed the packet which was addreſſed to him; and, in my own name, I claimed that which was intended for me. I ſaw that both theſe packets had been opened. They contained printed papers; and in one of the packets, (not that which belonged to me,) there were certain papers whoſe contents I was not permitted to read, although I was told they were authenticated by public officers.

" The committee did not heſitate to give me the printed papers, copies of which I had already; but they refuſed to give me the manuſcripts, until they were authoriſed by an order from the national convention.

" One of the committee went to the convention to demand this order. He returned, and told me, 'that upon his demand, they paſſed to the order of the day;'

but he did not bring back the papers, ſaying, 'that he had left them on the bureau.' The committee, as far as I obſerved, made no memorandum of thoſe papers having been carried away, and not brought back.

"I aſked theſe gentlemen by what means I could obtain the poſſeſſion of theſe papers? They looked at each other, but gave no anſwer.

"There the matter reſts. I thought it beſt not to inſiſt upon this ſubject, while the convention is deliberating on the trial of Lewis *."

The conduct of Garat was ſo baſe and criminal, that I thought it a proper occaſion of awakening and exciting the public indignation againſt the innumerable prevarications which were committed in the courſe of the king's proceſs. I flattered myſelf, that it was ſtill poſſible to rouſe the Pariſians from that ſhameful ſtate of ſtupor and diſmay into which the audacious tyranny of the convention had thrown them. In this hope, I addreſſed the following denun-

* *Vide* Appendix, No. V.

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ciation to the aſſembly. I, at the ſame time, ſent ſeveral thouſand copies of it to France, and made it as public as poſſible.

DENUNCIATION *of prevarications committed in the trial of Lewis XVI. addreſſed to the National Convention by M. Bertrand de Moleville, miniſter of ſtate in France.*

" M. Preſident,

" I denounce to the national convention, to the people of France, and to all Europe, the odious prevarications which have taken place in the trial of Lewis XVI.; of which I ſhall here point out the proofs, in order to have juſtice adminiſtered againſt the guilty.

" In the courſe of laſt month, I ſent papers for the defence of Lewis XVI. to the *Garde du Sceau*, with a formal requiſition to have them delivered to the king. I thought that the ſureſt means of having them conveyed to their ſacred deſtination was to addreſs them to that miniſter of

juſtice. I accordingly wrote the following letter to him:

'Sir,

'As it is one of the moſt ſacred duties of a miniſter of juſtice to protect thoſe who are under accuſation, and to ſecure to them every means of clearing their innocence, I addreſs theſe papers to you, ſolemnly requeſting that they may be delivered into the hands of Lewis XVI. As the king's ancient miniſter, I feel myſelf not only authoriſed, but obliged in duty, to point out thoſe circumſtances, during my adminiſtration, that tend to overſet the principal articles of the accuſation brought againſt him. Such is the object of my demand; and you muſt be ſenſible, ſir, that you cannot reject it without ſhewing yourſelf the accomplice of one of the moſt atrocious crimes of which there is any example.'

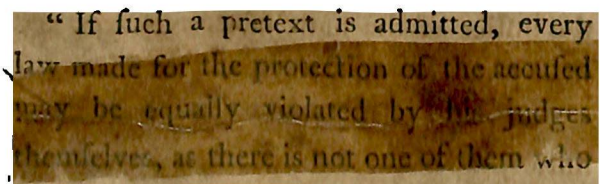
"A few days afterwards, I ſent under cover to the ſame miniſter, a packet for M. de Malesherbes, intitled, 'Papers for the juſtifi-

juſtification of Lewis XVI.' I wrote, at the ſame time, to advertiſe M. de Malesherbes of my ſending them as abovementioned to the *Garde du Sceau*, and requiring that he ſhould aſk them from that miniſter.

"I am this day informed, that when, in conſequence of that letter, M. de Malesherbes went himſelf to claim theſe packets, he was anſwered by the miniſter of juſtice, 'that, on finding they contained papers for the juſtification of Lewis XVI., he had thought himſelf obliged to ſend them to the national convention.'

"I muſt obſerve here, that the conduct of the miniſter of juſtice, upon this occaſion, is of a piece with the barbarous practice of the keepers and jailors of priſons, under the ancient government, in ſending all letters or papers, addreſſed to the priſoner, to the magiſtrate ſuperintending the priſons. There was then, however, one ſure means of having letters, &c. remitted to the priſoner, namely, by addreſſing them directly to that magiſtrate. Never-

theleſs, the conſtituent aſſembly juſtly indignant at the ſlowneſs of this means, and the inhumanity of theſe precautions, formally aboliſhed this cuſtom by the new criminal code. It decreed, that the priſoner ſhould not only receive all papers and memorials which might aſſiſt in their defence, but that a copy of their indictment, and of the procedure, ſhould be given them in twenty-four hours after it was demanded, either by themſelves, or their counſel. But when I ſolemnly addreſs myſelf to the miniſter, ſpecially appointed to maintain the execution of this law, he does not ſcruple to infringe it, under pretence that he has no communication with the priſoner.



" If ſuch a pretext is admitted, every law made for the protection of the accuſed may be equally violated by the judges themſelves, as there is not one of them who has any communication with the priſoner.

" The conduct of the miniſter of juſtice is ſtill more unjuſtifiable with regard to M. de Maleſherbes. Could he poſſibly imagine it was his duty to deprive the defender

ſcnder of Lewis XVI. of papers ſent for his client's juſtification? So that the ſuperſcription which I wrote upon the packet, as a ſecurity for its being delivered, was exactly what determined the miniſter of juſtice not only to keep it up from M. de Maleſherbes, but to ſend it to the very committee which conducted the proceſs againſt the king.

"Could we ſuppoſe a legal court of aſſaſſins, what conduct could more naturally be expected from the principal agent of ſuch a court, than to deliver the papers tranſmitted to him, for the defence of the accuſed, into the hands of the accuſers?

"I ſubmit the above conſiderations to the juſtice of the national convention, and ſhall proceed in my ſtatement of facts.

"M. de Maleſherbes went to the committee, and claimed the packets. He found that both had been opened; they contained printed and written papers: the printed papers were delivered to him; but he was informed that he could not have the others without an order from the con-

vention. A member of the committee went with the papers to the convention to demand this order. He returned and told M. de Malesherbes, that, upon his demand, the assembly had passed to the order of the day. The member did not bring back the papers; he left them on the bureau.

"M. de Malesherbes asked what means he could take to obtain these papers? the members of the committee looked at each other, but nobody answered him.

"The striking injustice of refusing to allow M. de Malesherbes so much as to read those papers, must be imputed to the ignorance or guilt of some inferior agent of the committee; for certainly none of its members would have been accessary to such illegal conduct.

"I am equally convinced that the assembly would not have passed to the order of the day, on the demand of M. de Malesherbes, had the nature of the request been clearly represented. The fact however is, that those entrusted with the king's defence, were

were obliged to make it without the aſſiſtance of theſe papers. Unfortunately, they were not the only papers which were kept up; for it is known, that when the papers in the king's cabinet were ſeized and carried away, none of the formalities which the law exacts, and the particular care loudly called for, were uſed to prevent ſubtraction, alteration, or ſubſtitution; of courſe, none of thoſe papers can, with the leaſt colour of law or juſtice, be produced againſt the king; yet they are produced, and urged againſt him, as if all thoſe formalities had been obſerved; and, beſides, a collection, falſely called complete, of the papers found in his majeſty's cabinet, was, by orders of the committee, printed, and profuſely diſtributed over the kingdom; but this collection, ſo far from being complete, conſiſted only of ſuch papers as admitted of malignant interpretations, which were, with much aſſiduity, given to them, enforced and illuſtrated by calumnious notes. It is to be hoped, that the authors of theſe notes are not of the number

ber of the king's judges, no more than thoſe deputies who have betrayed ſuch a thirſt for the king's blood, that they have anticipated their votes for his death, by printing and publiſhing their opinions. According to the laws of all civiliſed countries, a judge who condemns a perſon accuſed, without having heard his defence, thereby loſes the right of finally judging him, and is conſidered as on the ſame footing with the accuſer. Were it poſſible to ſuppoſe that this law could be violated in the caſe of Lewis XVI. the French nation, fired with indignation againſt ſuch flagrant injuſtice, would, undoubtedly, riſe like one man, and pour vengeance on the baſe infringers of a principle ſo ſelf-evident and ſacred. Truſting to the juſtice of the national convention, I demand that the papers, for the juſtification of Lewis XVI., which I ſent under cover to the miniſter of juſtice, may be remitted to the king's defenders; and as to the papers found in the king's cabinet, but which the authors of the printed collection thought it expedient

dient to ſuppreſs, I can, from my own certain knowledge, only point out the following:

'1ſt, A copy of a letter to the king from three deputies of the legiſlative aſſembly, of great influence, dated in the month of July laſt. This letter contained a prediction of the 10th of Auguſt; and the recall of Servan, Clavierę, and Rolland was propoſed as the only means of preventing that cataſtrophe. As I ſaw the king in public only, after my retreat from the miniſtry, I had not an opportunity of reading the letter myſelf, but I was informed of its contents by perſons who have read it. I ſhall name theſe perſons, and likewiſe the deputies, as ſoon as the proofs ſhall be taken into conſideration, and the witneſſes in favour of the king are to be heard, according to the indiſpenſable form in all criminal cauſes.'

"The letter of thoſe three deputies may, at leaſt, ſerve to prove, that the torrents of blood ſhed on the 10th of Auguſt ought not to be attributed to Lewis XVI., but to the

the faction who wiſhed to dethrone him, in order that Servan, Claviere, and Rolland might be recalled to adminiſtration. Thyerry the king's firſt *valet de chambre*, who received the letter from them, and delivered it to the king, was afterwards aſſaſſinated, although he was abſent from the palace on the 10th of Auguſt.

'2d, A copy of a plan, conſiſting of twenty-one articles, ſecretly agreed on at Mantua, in the month of May 1791, by the emperor Leopold; the object of which was the re-eſtabliſhment of the king's ancient and legal authority. For this end, the emperor propoſed to enter France, with his army, in the beginning of the month of July following, a period in which neither our armies nor frontiers were in a ſtate of defence.'

"The king alone could have prevented the execution of this plan, and he did prevent it. All exacted from him was his conſent, which was to be kept ſecret. He refuſed this, without conſulting any body; he needed no advice when the tranquillity

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of his people was at ſtake; and he ſaw that this plan could not be executed without bloodſhed.

" The two only miniſters who had knowledge of theſe facts, and of an infinity of others equally important for the king's juſtification, were Meſſieurs de Montmorin and de Leſſart, who unfortunately have both periſhed. It is difficult to attribute to chance, either the ſelection of the victims ſacrificed on the 2d of September, or that of the king's papers which have been ſuppreſſed. However that may be, if Leopold's plan is not found, I ſhall, as ſoon as the king's proceſs is commenced, name three perſons who had a complete knowledge of all the particulars of that plan, and can aſcertain the contents in as ſatisfactory a manner as if the original plan itſelf were laid before the convention.

' 3d, A journal written by the king himſelf, for his own private uſe, containing every thing of conſequence he has done ſince he aſcended the throne; his projects,

views, and even the faults he has to reproach himſelf with, are there inſerted. This journal, which may be conſidered as a faithful picture of Lewis XIV., drawn by himſelf, and for himſelf only, would be a moſt intereſting part of the intended proceſs. Even in the faults with which he reproaches himſelf, his virtues, and uniform attachment to his people, would evidently appear.'

"That this journal was amongſt the king's papers, is proved by a letter which M. de Maleſherbes has juſt received from M. de Liancourt.

"Theſe, ſir, are the facts on which I call for the animadverſion of the national convention, and the attention of all Europe; and for this purpoſe I have thought it my duty to render this application as public as poſſible, by conſiding it in the hands of the Lord Mayor of London, and directing it to be publiſhed in the newspapers. And I now ſolemnly call on you, ſir, as preſident, to communicate it to the

convention, otherwiſe you become perſonally anſwerable for the conſequences of thoſe important facts remaining unknown to them.

(Signed) DE BERTRAND.

"LONDON, *January* 8, 1793."

M. de Maleſherbes acknowledged the receipt of M. de Bouillé's new declaration in his letter of the 6th of January; he wrote to me upon that ſubject as follows:

"With reſpect to M. de Bouillé's declaration, which is the ſubject of your letter of the 28th of December, we ſhall not have time to make uſe of it before the convention has paſſed ſentence, becauſe our memorial is drawn up and printed. Beſides the article concerning the employment of the funds, entruſted to M. de Bouillé, is explained in a perfectly ſatisfactory manner in the memorial. But if the proceſs is ſubmitted to the primary aſſemblies, as it is to be hoped, and if we are of courſe permitted once more to plead, we ſhall, in that caſe, demand the papers of juſtification which M. de Bouillé left in Holland."

CHAP. XL.

Means uſed by the faction of Robeſpierre to force the majority of the convention to vote for the king's death.—Reflections on the character and fate of Lewis XVI.—Circumſtances concerning his death and execution, as related by his confeſſor.—The king's interrogatory and laſt will.

THE chief accuſations againſt Lewis were ſo evidently falſe and abſurd, and his innocence, candour, and the purity of his intentions plead ſo forcibly in his favour, that the majority of the aſſembly would never have come to the reſolution of condemning him, had not the moſt atrocious men of the faction employed violent threats to bring their colleagues into their meaſures; and it appears that many, who were at firſt inclined to ſave the unfortunate prince, from fear and weakneſs voted for his death.

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The mild goodneſs of this prince, even his tenderneſs for his ſubjects, were the circumſtances which led him to his unhappy fate, or at leaſt prevented his avoiding it.

If the murder of Lewis XVI., and all the wickedneſs which has been the conſequence, could be juſtly conſidered as the crimes of the nation, whole ages would elapſe before men of virtue and humanity would ceaſe to bluſh at the thought of having France for their native country. Devoted to ignominy, that wretched land would be inhabited only by *banditti*, *aſſaſſins*, *bravos*, *ſmugglers*, *the refuſe and rejected offal of other countries*: but, thank Heaven theſe horrible crimes, although committed in the name of the French nation, were never authorized by it. The primary aſſemblies of 1792, in which the nobility, and the men of property of all the claſſes, durſt not appear, for fear of aſſaſſination, or, at leaſt, of groſs inſult, certainly were not the nation. The deputies elected by thoſe aſſemblies, or rather thoſe bands of

Jacobins, were not inſtructed, even by the moſt atrocious of their conſtituents, to deſtroy the monarchy, nor inveſted with the right of becoming at once accuſers and judges, and, in thoſe characters, the aſſaſſins of the king. To theſe regicides alone, therefore, to that band of infernal monſters, is the king's murder, that of the royal family, and all the ſubſequent guilt, to be imputed. My pen refuſes to trace the circumſtances of the condemnation and death of thoſe illuſtrious victims. It is a ſufficient mortification to have their aſſaſſins for fellow-citizens; I may be allowed to ſhrink from being their hiſtorian.

I confine myſelf to the relation of ſome particulars, little known, concerning the laſt moments of Lewis XVI., as they were communicated to me by his worthy confeſſor, the abbé Edgeworth. At that dreadful period this excellent perſon exhibited the moſt courageous proofs of his zeal for religion, and fidelity to his ſovereign.

When,

When M. de Maleſherbes firſt viſited the king at the Temple, as one of his counſel, his majeſty, who conſidered his condemnation as certain, expreſſed the moſt anxious deſire to ſee a prieſt, and mentioned the abbé Edgeworth, grand vicar of the dioceſe of Paris, and confeſſor to the princeſs Elizabeth, as the one he would prefer; deſiring M. de Maleſherbes to take every ſtep towards obtaining for that gentleman free acceſs to him, without any danger of being inſulted: but requeſting, at the ſame time, that the Abbé might be informed, that his majeſty would not preſs this upon him, if he dreaded any perſonal riſk on that account; in which caſe he was requeſted to point out ſome other proper perſon for that office, the king being willing to rely entirely on the Abbé's recommendation.

M. de Maleſherbes having executed his majeſty's commiſſion, found M. Edgeworth cordially diſpoſed to the duty required of him. It was not till the 20th of January 1793, at four of the afternoon, that he was ſent for to the Thuilleries by the executive

council, who aſſembled there. When admitted into the room where the miniſters were convened, he was greatly ſtruck with the terror and conſternation which appeared in their countenances.

"Louis Capet deſires to ſee you," ſaid the miniſter of juſtice (Garat). "Will you go to him to the Temple?"

"Unqueſtionably I will," replied the Abbé. "The king's requeſt is an order, in my eyes."

"Follow me, then; I will conduct you to him," reſumed the ſame miniſter, who was going to notify to his majeſty the decree of the convention, in conſequence of the king's requeſts to them, and to announce that the following morning, at ten o'clock, was fixed for his execution. The miniſter of juſtice took the Abbé into the carriage with him; and on the way from the Thuilleries to the Temple he ſeveral times repeated, with the accent of deſpair, "What a dreadful commiſſion!"

M. Edgeworth being ſummoned to fulfil one of the moſt ſolemn and ſacred duties of his

his miniſtry, was deſirous of obſerving the forms which the church preſcribes, and urged the propriety of attending his majeſty in prieſt's veſtments.

"That is impoſſible," replied the miniſter of juſtice.

When they arrived at the Temple, they found the tower ſurrounded by a conſiderable number of national guards, by one of whom they were introduced into a hall where twelve or fifteen members of the *commune de Paris* were ſitting, and at that time formed that court called *conſeil de la commune ſéant au Temple*. Six or ſeven of them accompanied the miniſter to the king's chamber, and the others retained the Abbé with them, although the miniſter expreſſed a deſire of preſenting him to the king.

This council was certainly compoſed of the moſt unfeeling and brutal men in the municipality. They behaved to M. Edgeworth, not only without compaſſion, but they even ſhewed a ferocious joy. They rudely ſearched all his pockets, opened his

ſnuff-box to ſee whether it did not contain poiſon, examined his pencil-caſe, on the pretext that it might conceal a ſtiletto. They then made him aſcend to the king's apartment by a little narrow ſtair, where ſentinels were placed at ſmall intervals, ſome of them drunk, ſwearing, and ſinging, as if it had been an ale-houſe.

The miniſter of juſtice was ſtill in the king's apartment with thoſe members of the council who had accompanied him to his majeſty; the ſerene dignity of whoſe countenance formed a ſtriking contraſt with the haggard and villanous looks of the wretches who ſurrounded him. As ſoon as the king perceived the abbé Edgeworth, he made a movement, expreſſive of his deſire to be left alone with him. The others immediately withdrew. The king ſhut the door, and turned towards the Abbé, who ſunk on his knees, kiſſed his majeſty's hand, and bathed it with his tears. The king, equally affected, raiſed M. Edgeworth, ſaying,

"None but the moſt unrelenting of men have been allowed to approach me of late. My

My eyes are accuſtomed to them: but the ſight of a man of humanity, a faithful ſubject, affects my whole ſoul, and melts me as you ſee."

Being in ſome meaſure recovered, he led the Abbé into his cloſet, and having made him ſit down, he read his laſt will twice over to him, with a firm tone and proper emphaſis; his voice failing only at thoſe parts where mention is made of the queen, his children, and the princeſs Elizabeth.

"What is become of the good cardinal de la Rochefoucault," ſaid the king, after a ſhort pauſe,..... "and the archbiſhop of Paris? Have you any news of him? I fear he is diſpleaſed with me. He wrote to me while I was at the Thuilleries. I did not anſwer his letter, I was ſo ſurrounded. He will forgive me. Aſſure him that I die in his communion; and that in ſpite of all the changes they have made, I always conſidered myſelf as one of his flock."

It is difficult to do juſtice to the devout, ſublime, and heroic ſentiments expreſſed by the king in this intereſting conference, particularly when he ſpoke of his own ſitu-

ation and that of his family; but, above all, when he dwelt on the misfortunes of his country.

"This people, by nature good," ſaid he, "but now miſguided and enſlaved by a few unprincipled leaders, would never have ſuffered me to be accuſed of tyranny, if they had known how much their happineſs has always been dear to me, and how ſincerely I have wiſhed to promote it. In proportion as I have been deprived of the means and hope of attaining an object which I had ſo much at heart, life has become more and more diſguſting to me; and I now make the ſacrifice without regret. I am certain that the time wil come when the French people will lament my loſs. Yes, I am confident that they will do juſtice to my memory when they ſhall know the truth, when they have the liberty of being juſt: but alas! till then, they are, and will be, very unhappy!"

This reflection on the misfortunes of his country again drew tears from the eyes of the generous monarch.

Speaking

Speaking of the duke of Orleans, he ſaid,

"I do not know what I have done to my couſin, to make him behave to me in the manner he has done: but he is to be pitied. He is ſtill more unfortunate than I am. I certainly would not change conditions with him."

After this, he roſe, ſaying,

"I muſt now go and ſee my family for the laſt time. This will be the ſevereſt trial of all. When that is over, I ſhall fix my mind ſolely on what concerns my ſalvation."

Leaving the abbé Edgeworth in his cloſet, the unhappy prince went to the room where his family were already aſſembled, and which was ſeparated only by a door from that in which were two commiſſaries conſtantly on duty: this door was formed of panes of glaſs from top to bottom, like a window; ſo that thoſe two men could ſee and hear all that paſſed.

In ſuch horrible circumſtances, and in this diſmal room, did the king of France

meet his deploring family, now rendered more dear to him than ever by his own approaching fate, and their unexampled misfortunes. Here paſſed a ſcene of woe far beyond the power of deſcription, to which the mind of ſenſibility alone can do juſtice.

The ſympathizing heart of M. Edgeworth was pierced with the groans of anguiſh and the ſcreams of deſpair.

This agonizing interview laſted more than an hour. The king returned to his own room in a ſtate of emotion that cannot be expreſſed.

"Why," ſaid he, addreſſing the Abbé, after he had ſomewhat recovered himſelf, "why do I love with ſo much tenderneſs, and wherefore am I ſo tenderly beloved? But now the painful ſacrifice is over. Let me now turn my thoughts to the care of my ſalvation alone."

Having thus expreſſed himſelf, he remained for ſome minutes in ſilent meditation, interrupted by ſighs, accompanied with tears, and then began to converſe on the great truths of religion; and aſtoniſhed

his confeſſor as much by the extenſive knowledge he diſplayed on that ſubject, as he had before edified him by his piety.

At ten o'clock, Clery, his faithful *valet de chambre*, came and propoſed that he ſhould take ſome ſupper. The king conſented, leſs from any inclination to eat, than to oblige Clery, who made the requeſt with tears in his eyes. After eating a mouthful, as he roſe from the table he ſaid to M. Edgeworth,

"You ought alſo to take ſome nouriſhment; you are ſurely much exhauſted."

This ſlight repaſt being over, the Abbé aſked the king whether he would not like to hear maſs, and to receive the communion. The king replied, that he deſired it with ardour: but he ſhewed, at the ſame time, that he had little hopes of that favour being granted him.

"I muſt have permiſſion," ſaid he, "from this council in the Temple, who have hitherto granted me nothing but what was impoſſible to be withheld."

M. Edge-

M. Edgeworth went directly and ſignified the king's requeſt to the council ſitting in the Temple. He met with many difficulties.

"There are examples in hiſtory," ſaid a member of this hardened court, "of prieſts who have mixed poiſon with the hoſtie."

"I have been ſufficiently ſearched to ſatisfy you," replied the Abbé, "that I have no poiſon about me: but to render yourſelves ſtill more certain, you have only to furniſh me with the hoſties; and if they ſhould prove poiſoned, the blame will not be imputable to me."

To this the council made no immediate anſwer: but the members went into the room where they uſually held their meetings. The king's demand was formally deliberated on; after which, the Abbé being called in, the preſident ſaid,

"Citizen miniſter of worſhip, *(du culte,)* that which Louis Capet requeſts, not being contrary to law, we have agreed to grant it on two conditions: firſt, that you ſign the requeſt; and in the ſecond place, that the

the ceremony you intend to perform ſhall terminate before ſeven o'clock to-morrow morning; becauſe, at eight o'clock, Louis Capet muſt go hence to the place of execution."

The abbé Edgeworth ſubmitted to thoſe conditions, and directly went and informed the king, who expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at the hope of once more having the conſolation of hearing maſs, and of receiving the communion. He fell on his knees to return thanks to the Almighty, and immediately after began his confeſſion. When it was ended, M. Edgeworth, ſeeing the king almoſt exhauſted with the anguiſh and fatigue he had undergone, adviſed him to go to bed, and endeavour to get a little repoſe. His majeſty conſented, and prevailed on the Abbé to lay down in Clery's bed, which was in the ſame room.

Having ſlept with tranquillity, the king called for Clery, early the next morning, to aſſiſt him in dreſſing. He heard maſs and received the communion with the moſt profound

profound devotion. After having finiſhed his prayers, he ſaid to M. Edgeworth,

"How happy am I in having retained my faith in religion! In what a ſtate of mind ſhould I at this moment have been, had not the grace of God preſerved to me that bleſſing. Yes, I ſhall be enabled to ſhew them that I do not fear death."

A noiſe being heard at the door, M. Edgeworth was agitated. He thought the fatal moment was already arrived. The king, without betraying the leaſt emotion, maintained his uſual ſerenity. It was the guards who reſumed their poſts. His majeſty having addreſſed himſelf to one of them, the wretch had the brutality to anſwer,

"That would have been very well, formerly, citizen, but you are no longer a king*."

"You ſee how I am treated," ſaid his majeſty, addreſſing M. Edgeworth, "but

* "Citoyen, c'étoit bon ca quand vous étiés roi, mais vous ne l'êtes plus."

nothing

nothing can ſhock me now.—Here they come," reſumed the king, calmly, on hearing ſome perſons aſcending the ſtair.

It was the commiſſaries of the commune, with a prieſt at their head, called Jacques Roux. They came to announce that the hour was at hand.

"It is enough," ſaid the king. "I will join you directly: but I wiſh to paſs a few moments alone with my confeſſor."

They retired. His majeſty ſhut the door, and ſaid, falling on his knees,

"All is conſummated. Give me your laſt benediction."

Fear of the danger to which the abbé Edgeworth might be expoſed, in accompanying the king to the place of execution, had prevented his majeſty from making ſuch a propoſition, and he ſuppoſed that they were now to ſeparate: but when he found that it was the fixed reſolution of this venerable man, worthy of the ſacred functions he exerciſed, to abide by him to the laſt, his majeſty was at once moved by tenderneſs and filled with ſatisfaction.

Having

Having thrown open the door,

"*Marchons*," ſaid he, with a firm tone of voice, to Santerre, who waited without.

Here the king offered to Roux, the prieſt, a packet, containing his teſtament, deſiring that he might deliver it to the commune. The wretch refuſed to take it, ſaying, that it was his duty to conduct him to the ſcaffold, but nothing elſe. One of his companions, however, leſs hardened than this Roux, took the packet, and remitted it carefully to the commune.

Before they came to the ſtair of the Temple, the king perceiving that the commiſſaries were covered, deſired Clery to bring his hat, which he immediately put on his head; and being eſcorted by a very numerous detachment of national guards, he walked through the firſt court of the Temple, and found the carriage provided for him in the ſecond. Two very ill-looking fellows belonging to the *gendarmes* ſtood at the door. One of them immediately entered into the carriage; the king followed with the abbé Edgeworth. The other

other *gendarme* placed himſelf by his comrade.

From the diſturbed, fierce, and menacing countenances of thoſe two men, M. Edgeworth ſuſpected that they had orders to aſſaſſinate the king in the coach, in caſe of the appearance of any powerful attempt to reſcue him. The public papers of the following day aſſerted that this ſuſpicion was but too well founded.

A profound ſilence reigned among the people all the way from the Temple to the *Place de Louis XV.* The whole ſtreets were lined with national guards under arms. Nothing was heard but the ſound of drums.

As the movement of the carriage was very ſlow, the king aſked for a prayer-book from the Abbé. He had none but his Breviary, which he gave him, pointing out the pſalms moſt analogous to his ſituation. His majeſty continued reading, with the utmoſt devotion, till the carriage ſtopped near the ſcaffold. The executioners having opened the door of the carriage, the

king laying his hand on the knee of the Abbé, ſaid to the two *gendarmes*,

" Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection."

As they made no immediate anſwer, he added, with greater earneſtneſs,

" I conjure you to take care that no harm befall him after my death."

" Well, well, give yourſelf no farther trouble; we ſhall take care of him," anſwered one of them, in a harſh and ironical tone of voice.

The king having thrown off his coat, was going to aſcend the ſcaffold, when they ſeized his hands, on purpoſe to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this laſt inſult, his firſt movement was to repel it with indignation: but M. Edgeworth, ſenſible that all reſiſtance would be vain, and would expoſe the king to outrages ſtill more violent, ſaid,

" Sire, this new humiliation is another circumſtance in which your majeſty's ſufferings reſemble thoſe of that Saviour, who will ſoon be your recompence."

This

This obſervation inſtantly removed all his repugnance. With a dignified air of reſignation he preſented his hands to the wretches, who, tying the cords with all their force, the king addreſſing them mildly, ſaid, "There is no need to pull ſo tight."

It was while he was mounting the ſcaffold, ſupported by the abbé Edgeworth, that this ſervant of God; as if by inſpiration, addreſſed the king in this ſublime expreſſion, "Offspring of St. Louis, aſcend to Heaven *!"

As ſoon as he came upon the ſcaffold, advancing, with a firm ſtep, to the part which faced the palace, he deſired the

* The modeſty and ſcrupulous exactneſs of the abbé Edgeworth are ſuch, that the general admiration excited by this ſolemn apoſtrophe led him to examine his memory, whether he had really pronounced thoſe very words; and he told me himſelf, that his grief and agitation, at this dreadful moment, had totally effaced from his mind the greater part of what he had ſaid to the king; and that he recollected nothing further, concerning this particular ſentence, than what he had received from others. But as the circumſtance, ſpread over the whole capital the very day of the king's death, and inſerted in all the public papers, has never been contradicted, I thought myſelf authorized to regard it as indiſputably true, notwithſtanding the delicacy of the abbé Edgeworth; which, without invalidating the truth of this fact, proves the confidence that is due to whatever he aſſerts.

drums to ceaſe, and was immediately obeyed, in ſpite of the orders they had received. He then pronounced, with a voice loud enough to be heard at the gardens of the Thuilleries,

"I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be ſhed—"

He was continuing, when that moſt atrocious of villains, Santerre, puſhed furiouſly towards the drummers, and forced them to beat without interruption. The executioners, at the ſame time, laid hold of their victim, and the horrid deed was completed.

There is reaſon to believe that Santerre, and the council who had their ſittings at the Temple, had been at pains to ſelect for the execution of this crime, ſome who had already given proofs of their patriotiſm by murder. The ſhocking ferocity of a young man of eighteen or twenty years of age, who aſſiſted on this dreadful occaſion, can-

not be otherwiſe accounted for. As ſoon as the king's head was ſevered from the body, this young cannibal, ſeizing it by the hair, danced around the ſcaffold, holding it up to the people, and exclaiming repeatedly, *Vive la nation!*

The abbé Edgeworth, who was on his knees on the ſcaffold during the execution, and was ſtill in the ſame poſture, would have been covered with blood, had he not, by an involuntary movement which he has ſince regretted, ſhrunk back when this monſter approached him, brandiſhing the head of the king in his hand. The repeated cries of *Vive la nation!* and this horrid ſpectacle, rouſed him from the ſtupor into which he had ſunk. He roſe with precipitation, deſcended from the ſcaffold, pierced, without difficulty, through the national guards that ſurrounded it, who opened, at the ſimple movement of his hand, to let him paſs. He mixed with the multitude, and went directly to M. de Maleſherbes.

The king had charged him with ſeveral commiſſions to that gentleman, particularly

that he ſhould be informed into whoſe hands the duplicate of the teſtament had been placed, in caſe that which his majeſty had delivered to the commiſſaries of the commune ſhould not be publiſhed. At ſight of this courageous attendant on the king, the faithful witneſs of his ſufferings, in whoſe breaſt the laſt thoughts of the royal martyr had been depoſited, the venerable old man burſt into tears, and having embraced him, exclaimed,

" All, then, is over, my dear Abbé?—Receive my thanks, and thoſe of all worthy Frenchmen, for the unſhaken fidelity and zeal you have manifeſted for our good maſter."

The Abbé communicated to him all that the king had given him in charge, and then made a recital of what had paſſed at the Temple, and at the *Place de Louis XV.*

He had ſcarce finiſhed, when M. de Malesherbes, tranſported with grief and indignation, poured forth a torrent of invective againſt the revolution, and the authors of the king's death, with aſtoniſhing vehemence,

mence, and in a ſublime ſtrain of eloquence *.

" The villains have actually put him to death, then !" cried he. " And it was in the name of the nation that they perpetrated this parricide ! In the name of the French, who, had they been worthy of ſo good a king, would have acknowledged him as the beſt they ever had. Yes, the very beſt; for he was as pious as Lewis IX., as juſt as Lewis XII., as humane as Henry IV., and exempt from their failings. His only fault was that of loving us too well; conducting himſelf too much as our father, and not enough as our king; and continually endeavouring to procure us more happineſs than we were capable of enjoying. But *his* faults proceeded, in ſome degree, from his virtues; whereas ours flow entirely from our vices. It is

* " Vous auriéz crû," m'a dit l'abbé Edgeworth, " entendre M. Burke lui même."

" You might have thought," ſaid the abbé Edgeworth, when he narrated this to me, " that you were hearing Mr. Burke himſelf."

this falſe philoſophy (of which I muſt confeſs that I myſelf have been the dupe) which has hurried us into an abyſs of deſtruction. It is that which has, by an inconcievable magic, faſcinated the eyes of the nation, and made us ſacrifice the ſubſtance for a phantom. For the mere words *liberté politique*, France has ſacrificed ſocial liberty, which ſhe poſſeſſed, in all reſpects, in a greater degree than any other nation, becauſe ſhe had multiplied and embelliſhed the ſources of enjoyment beyond any other nation. The people, conſcious of their being completely inveſted with the liberty of doing every thing which the law permits, conceived that political liberty muſt imply the right of doing what the law forbids, and France was filled with crimes. Intoxicated with the idea of ſovereignty, they imagined that the overthrow of monarchy would place themſelves on the throne; that confiſcations would put the property of the rich in their hands. Wretches who were the moſt ardent in ſpreading ſuch abſurd notions, unfortunately were elected as deputies to the

the national aſſembly; and their firſt exertions were directed againſt our unhappy king. Monſters! with what unheard-of barbarity have they treated him! But what calm and dignified courage did he not diſplay! How great does he ſeem, in his laſt moments! All their efforts to debaſe him have been vain. His ſteady virtue has triumphed over their wickedneſs. It is then true, that religion alone can give ſufficient force to enable the mind of man to ſupport the moſt dreadful trials with ſo much dignity. Depart from this town, my dear Abbé. I conjure you not to remain in Paris; you are not ſafe here; and I adviſe you to leave the kingdom as ſoon as you poſſibly can. Fly from this accurſed land. In it you will find no aſylum from thoſe tigers who thirſt for your blood. As for my own part, I own I have nothing to fear. They know that the people love me. The murderers dare not touch a hair of my grey head *. Nevertheleſs I ſhall go to

* M. de Maleſherbes little thought, that in the eyes of ſuch brutal tyrants as thoſe who oppreſſed France, the very virtues

to the country to-morrow, that I may not be obliged any longer to breathe an air infected by thoſe regicides. Adieu, then, my dear Abbé; wherever you go, be aſſured that I ſhall always take a very warm intereſt in whatever regards you."

Thus ſeparated two men, ſo worthy of the confidence which Lewis XVI. placed in each.

Completely to fulfil the principal object of theſe Memoirs, I ſhall add to this recital, which may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as dictated by the abbé Edgeworth himſelf *, an account of the king's interrogatories, and teſtament, in which, it is clear, he was aſſiſted by nobody; becauſe they evince the preciſion and extent of his underſtanding, and are the ſtrongeſt proofs of all I have aſſerted concerning his character.

virtues which had procured him the love and veneration of the people, would be conſidered as the moſt *dangerous of crimes*.

* This recital, collected from many converſations with the abbé Edgeworth, will be confirmed by what he himſelf will probably publiſh, in conſequence of the requeſt of the worthy heir to the virtues of Lewis XVI. *Vide* Appendix, No. VII.

I am aware that the king has been reproached for having ſubmitted, to no purpoſe, to the humiliation of attempting a defence before ſuch a court as the convention: but thoſe who blame him on this account do not reflect, that if he had poſſeſſed ſufficient energy of character to have pronounced, with a firm and authoritative voice, at the bar of the aſſembly, "That he had nothing to anſwer to revolted ſubjects; and that he acknowledged no judge but God alone," the ſame energy would have enabled him to repreſs the early attempts againſt his government; and he never would have been reduced to the extremity of appearing before any court whatever.

Can we juſtly reproach Lewis XVI. that nature laviſhed upon him in benevolence what ſhe withheld from him in energy? Is it to his account we are to lay the faults of his education? He had faults, undoubtedly; I have not attempted to conceal them: but his unexampled misfortunes have made me forget his faults, and I can remember nothing but his virtues.

With

With regard to his behaviour at his trial, I own that I have always reflected with admiration on the preciſion and wiſdom of his anſwers, eſpecially as they muſt have been unpremeditated; he having been ſo cloſely guarded, that he was ignorant of all that was paſſing out of his priſon, till the moment he was called to appear before the convention. Yet had the ableſt lawyers been permitted to ſuggeſt anſwers to all the prepared queſtions put to the king by the preſident of the convention, it is much to be doubted whether they could have improved, in any reſpect, on thoſe made by his majeſty.

The king's interrogatory, and his laſt will, unqueſtionably compoſed and written by himſelf, are ſufficient to convince thoſe who never had an opportunity of knowing him, that he poſſeſſed a juſt underſtanding and a virtuous ſoul. This truth cannot be too ſtrongly inſiſted upon; not only becauſe it devotes to the execrations of poſterity the authors of all the crimes which produced this horrible revolution, but alſo becauſe

becauſe it is a warning to princes, that the qualities with which Lewis was endowed are not alone ſufficient to ſecure them againſt ſimilar misfortunes.

Extract of the proceedings of the convention on the 11th of December 1792.

LEWIS came to the bar;—a profound ſilence reigned in the aſſembly.

The preſident ſaid to him,

"Lewis, the people of France accuſe you; the national convention has decreed that you ſhall be tried, and that its members ſhall be your judges. You ſhall now hear the declaration of the crimes imputed to you. Lewis, ſit down."

The king ſeated himſelf.

A ſecretary read the accuſation.

The preſident then ſaid,

"Lewis, you are to anſwer the queſtions I am commiſſioned by the national convention to propoſe to you.

"Lewis,

"Lewis, you are accuſed of having committed a multitude of crimes to eſtabliſh your tyranny by deſtroying liberty.

"On the 20th of June 1789, you committed an outrage againſt the ſovereignty of the people, by ſuſpending the aſſemblies of its repreſentatives, and by driving them with violence from their place of meeting. The proof of this is in the verbal proceſs, drawn up in the Tennis Court at Verſailles by the members of the conſtituent aſſembly. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I acted againſt no law then in exiſtence."

Preſident. "On the 23d of June 1789, you attempted to impoſe laws upon the nation; you ſurrounded the ſitting of the conſtituent aſſembly with troops; preſented them with two royal declarations ſubverſive of all liberty, and you commanded them to ſeparate?"

To this the king gave the ſame anſwer as to the preceding queſtion.

Preſident. "You ordered an army to march againſt the citizens of Paris; their blood

blood was ſhed; you did not withdraw the troops till the Baſtile was taken, and a general inſurrection taught you that the people were victorious. The anſwers you returned to the deputations of the conſtituent aſſembly, on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July, ſhew what your intentions then were; and the maſſacre at the Thuilleries alſo depoſes againſt you. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I had, at that time, the power to employ my troops where I thought the circumſtances required; but I never had any intention to ſhed blood."

Preſident. "After theſe events, notwithſtanding the promiſe made by you in the aſſembly on the 15th, and in the Hotel de Ville on the 17th, you perſiſted in your projects againſt the national liberty. You long evaded ſanctioning the decree of the 11th of Auguſt for aboliſhing perſonal ſervitude, feudal rights, and tithes; you, at firſt, refuſed to acknowledge the declaration of the rights of man; you doubled the number of your body-guards,

and

and ordered the regiment of Flanders to Verſailles; during the feſtival at that place, you permitted the national cockade to be trampled under foot before your face, the white cockade ſet up, and the nation to be blaſphemed. In ſhort, you rendered a new inſurrection neceſſary, and occaſioned the death of many citizens. It was not till after the defeat of your guards that you changed your language and renewed your perfidious promiſes. The proofs of theſe facts are in your own obſervations of the 18th of September on the decree of the 10th of Auguſt, in the verbal proceſs of the conſtituent aſſembly on the events which took place at Verſailles on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the anſwer you returned to the conſtituent aſſembly, namely, 'That you would be guided by their council, and never ſeparate yourſelf from them.' What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I made the obſervations which occurred to me, as juſt and neceſſary upon the decrees preſented to me. The charge reſpecting the cockade is falſe. I was witneſs to no ſuch ſcene."

Preſident.

Preſident. "At the federation of the 14th of July 1790, you took an oath which you did not adhere to, but endeavoured, on the contrary, to corrupt the public mind through the agency of Talon in Paris, and the influence of Mirabeau in the provinces. You laviſhed millions to corrupt the public mind; you attempted to make popularity itſelf an engine againſt the people. Theſe facts are evident from a memorial of Talon's, verified by your hand, and by a letter which la Porte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, ſpeaking of a converſation he had with *Rivarol*, he informs you, that the ſums you had been adviſed to diſtribute, had produced nothing."

Lewis. "I don't exactly remember what paſſed at that time; but all theſe are circumſtances which occurred previous to my accepting the conſtitution."

Preſident. "Was it not in conſequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine, diſtributed money amongſt the poor workmen,

telling them that you could do no more for them?"

Lewis. "I had no greater ſatisfaction than in giving to thoſe who required relief: in this I had no inſidious deſign."

Preſident. "Was it not in conſequence of the ſame project that you feigned an indiſpoſition to prepare the public mind for your journey to St. Cloud or to Rambouillet, upon pretext that the country air was neceſſary for your health?"

Lewis. "This accuſation is quite abſurd."

Preſident. "You had long meditated the deſign of eſcaping. A plan for that purpoſe was preſented to you on the 23d of February 1791, which you verified by your own hand-writing; and, on the 28th, a conſiderable number of officers and nobles aſſembled in the palace of the Thuilleries in order to favour your eſcape. You attempted to go from Paris to St. Cloud on the 11th of April; but the oppoſition of the citizens convinced you, that your deſign was ſuſpected by the public. You endeavoured

deavoured to diſſipate this miſtruſt by communicating to the aſſembly the letter in which you make a declaration to foreign powers, that you had freely accepted the conſtitution. Notwithſtanding this, you made your eſcape by the means of a falſe paſſport, on the 21ſt of the month of June following, leaving behind you a declaration againſt this very conſtitution. You ordered the miniſters not to ſign any acts which came from the national aſſembly; and you prohibited the miniſter of juſtice from ſealing them with the ſeal of the ſtate; the public money was laviſhed to enſure the ſucceſs of this treaſon; and you ordered de Bouillé to aſſiſt you with an armed force; that ſame officer who commanded at the maſſacres of Nancy, to whom you wrote on that occaſion, 'endeavour to preſerve your popularity, it may be uſeful.' Theſe facts are founded on the memorial of the 23d of February, verified by your hand; and on the declaration of the 20th of June, entirely in your own hand-writing; on your letter of

the 4th of September 1790 to Bouillé; and on a note from him, giving you an account of the employment of 993,000 livres which you had given him, and which he had partly expended in corrupting the troops which were to eſcort you. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I know nothing of the memorial of the 23d of February. With reſpect to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the anſwer I at that time made to the conſtituent aſſembly."

Preſident. "After you were ſtopped at Varennes, your executive power was for ſome time ſuſpended, but you ſtill conſpired; and on the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was ſhed in the *Champ de Mars.* A letter in your own hand, addreſſed to la Fayette 1790, proves that a criminal coalition exiſted between you and him, to which Mirabeau had alſo agreed. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expence of publiſhing libels, pamphlets, and journals, which tended to pervert the public opinion, to diſcredit

diſcredit aſſignats, and to ſupport the cauſe of the emigrants. The regiſters of Septeuil ſtate what enormous ſums were expended for theſe profligate purpoſes. You affected to accept the conſtitution of the 14th of September; you declared yourſelf willing to maintain it; yet you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "What paſſed on the 17th of July cannot be juſtly attributed to me. As to the other charges I have no knowledge of them."

Preſident. "A convention took place at Pilnitz on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Auſtria and Frederick William of Brandenburg, for the purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing abſolute monarchy in France, with which you were acquainted, yet you concealed it from the national aſſembly until it was known to all Europe. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I made it known as ſoon as I knew it myſelf; beſides, by the conſtitution, it was the buſineſs of the miniſters."

Preſident. "Arles raiſed the ſtandard of revolt: you favoured it by ſending commiſſioners, who, in place of endeavouring to check the counter-revolutioniſts, encouraged them by juſtifying their attempt. What do you anſwer?"

Lewis. "The commiſſioners inſtructions will evince the nature of the orders with which they were intruſted. I knew none of the commiſſioners when my miniſters propoſed them to me."

Preſident. "Avignon and Venaiſſin had been reunited to France; but you did not execute the decree till a month after: during that interval, a civil war deſolated the country, and the commiſſioners you ſent completed the devaſtation. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "That charge cannot perſonally affect me. I know not what delay attended the execution of the decree; but thoſe who were intruſted with it are alone reſponſible."

Preſident. "Nimes, Montauban, Mendes, and Jalès, experienced violent commotions

tions in the commencement of liberty. You did nothing to extinguiſh theſe ſparks of counter-revolution till the moment when the conſpiracy of Saillans broke out. What do you anſwer?"

Lewis. "I gave the orders upon that occaſion, which were propoſed to me by my miniſters."

Preſident. "You ſent two battalions againſt the Marſeillois, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutioniſts of Arles. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I muſt ſee the papers which regard this affair before I can anſwer the charge."

Preſident. "You gave the command of the ſouth to Weigenſtein, who wrote to you on the 21ſt of April, after he had been recalled, in theſe terms: 'A few moments longer and I ſhould have ſurrounded your majeſty's throne with millions of Frenchmen, rendered once more worthy of the wiſhes you form for their happineſs.' What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "This letter, by the ſtatement of the charge, is poſterior to his recall. He has never been employed ſince. I recollect nothing of the letter."

Preſident. "You paid your diſbanded body-guards at Coblentz, as the regiſters of Septeuil teſtify; and various orders, ſigned by you, confirm your having remitted conſiderable ſums to Bouillé, la Vauguyon, Choiſeul-Beauprè, d'Hamilton, and the woman Polignac?"

Lewis. "I no ſooner received intelligence that my body-guards had aſſembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, than I ordered their pay to be ſtopped. I remember nothing reſpecting the reſt."

Preſident. "Your brothers, enemies of the ſtate, have called emigrants around their ſtandard; they have raiſed regiments, borrowed money, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not diſavow them till you were well aſſured that you could not injure their plans. Your correſpondence with them is proved by a note in the hand-

hand-writing of Lewis Staniſlaus Xavier, ſigned by both your brothers, as follows:

" 'I have written to you, but it was by the poſt, ſo I could ſay nothing. We are here two, but in mind only one; the ſame principles, the ſame ſentiments, the ſame ardour to ſerve you, animates us both. We ſtill keep ſilence; we ſhould injure you by breaking it too ſoon, but ſhall ſpeak out when aſſured of general ſupport, and that moment is near. If they ſpeak to us on the part of thoſe people, we will not liſten; if they ſpeak in your name, we will liſten, but never alter our courſe; if, therefore, they ſhould exact that you make ſome declaration to us, make it without heſitation; be eaſy with regard to your ſafety; we only exiſt to ſerve you: we ſhall ardently exert ourſelves for that purpoſe, and every thing will go well. Even your enemies have too much intereſt in your preſervation to commit an uſeleſs crime which would complete their ruin. Adieu,

L. S. XAVIER, et
CHARLES PHILLIPPE.'

" What

"What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "As ſoon as I heard of my brothers' proceedings, I diſavowed them as the conſtitution preſcribes. I have none of their letters."

Preſident. "The troops of the line, who ought to have been kept up to the war-eſtabliſhment, amounted only to one hundred thouſand men at the end of December; you had thus neglected to guard the ſafety of the nation. Narbonne, your agent, had required, that fifty thouſand additional troops ſhould be raiſed; but he ſtopt the levies at twenty-ſix thouſand, declaring that every neceſſary proviſion for national defence was made, yet nothing was prepared. Servan propoſed to form a camp of twenty thouſand men near Paris; the legiſlative aſſembly decreed this, but you refuſed to give your ſanction to the decree. A patriotic emotion prompted many citizens, in the moſt diſtant provinces, to march to Paris; you iſſued a proclamation, the tendency of which was to ſtop their march; meanwhile our armies were

were deficient in ſoldiers; Dumourier, who ſucceeded, declared that the nation was not ſufficiently provided in arms, ammunition, or ſubſiſtence for the troops; and that the frontier towns were not in a ſtate of defence. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I gave to the miniſter the orders neceſſary for the augmentation of the army; the ſtatements were laid before the aſſembly; if there were errors in them, it was no fault of mine."

Preſident. "You gave directions to the commanders of the troops to relax the diſcipline of the army, to excite whole regiments to deſert, and to paſs the Rhine in order to join your brothers, and Leopold of Auſtria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulongeon's, commander in *Franche Comté.* What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "There is not a word of truth in this accuſation."

Preſident. "You commiſſioned your diplomatic agents to encourage a coalition between your brothers and foreign powers againſt France, particularly to ſtrengthen

ſtrengthen the peace between Turkey and Auſtria; that the latter, by withdrawing her troops from the Turkiſh frontiers, might be enabled to direct a greater force againſt France, as is proved by a letter from Choiſeul Gouffier, ambaſſador of Conſtantinople. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "M. Choiſeul has not ſpoken the truth; there is no foundation for ſuch an idea."

Preſident. "You neglected to provide for the ſafety of the nation at a moſt dangerous criſis; you delayed till the legiſlative aſſembly required of the miniſter Lajard to point out the means of defence, and then, but no ſooner, you ſent a meſſage to the aſſembly, propoſing a levy of forty-two battalions. The Pruſſians were advancing to our frontiers; your miniſter was ordered, on the 8th of July, to give an account of our actual ſituation with regard to Pruſſia; you anſwered on the 10th, that fifty thouſand Pruſſians were on their march againſt us, and that you gave that information to the aſſembly as directed by the

the conſtitution. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I had no knowledge of the fact until the 10th; all diplomatic correſpondence was carried on by the miniſters."

Preſident. "You placed Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne, at the head of the war department; and ſuch was the ſucceſs of your treachery, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as ſoon as the enemy appeared before them."

Lewis. "I did not know that M. Dabancourt was the nephew of Calonne; it was not me who diſmantled theſe towns; I never would have authoriſed it."

Preſident. "Who diſmantled Longwy and Verdun?"

Lewis. "If ſuch was their ſituation, I knew nothing of it."

Preſident. "You have deſtroyed our navy; ſo many of its officers emigrated, that there hardly remained a ſufficient number for the ſervice; nevertheleſs Bertrand continued to grant paſſports; and when the legiſlative body repreſented to you,

you, on the 8th of March, his criminal conduct, you anſwered, that you were ſatisfied with his ſervices?"

Lewis. "I did every thing in my power to retain the officers in the ſervice. The national aſſembly produced no charge which appeared to me of a criminal nature againſt Bertrand, therefore I did not think it juſt to diſmiſs him."

Preſident. "You countenanced abſolute government in the colonies; your agents fomented diſturbances, and the counter-revolution there, at the ſame time that it was to have taken place in France."

Lewis. "If any perſons called themſelves my agents in the colonies, they did it without authority from me. I gave no countenance for any thing of the nature you mention."

Preſident. "The national tranquillity was diſturbed by fanatics; you ſhewed yourſelf their protector, and manifeſted an evident intention of recovering your former power by their means. What do you anſwer?"

Lewis. "I have no anſwer to make to this charge. I had no knowledge of any ſuch deſign."

Preſident. "The legiſlative body, on the 29th of November, paſſed a decree againſt ſeditious prieſts, but you ſuſpended the execution of it. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "The conſtitution allowed me the free power of ſanctioning or rejecting decrees."

Preſident. "Diſturbances increaſed; the miniſter declared, that he knew no exiſting laws by which the guilty could be puniſhed. The legiſlative body paſſed a new decree; you ſuſpended the execution of that alſo."

Lewis.—The ſame reply.

Preſident. "The bad conduct of thoſe guards which the conſtitution had given to you was ſuch, that the aſſembly was under the neceſſity of decreeing that they ſhould be diſbanded; the day after, you wrote a letter to the aſſembly, declaring your ſatisfaction, and you continued to pay

pay them, as is proved by the accounts of the treaſurer of the civil liſt."

Lewis. "I only continued their pay until they ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed according as the decree required."

Preſident. "You retained your Swiſs guards about your perſon in contradiction to the conſtitution, and after the legiſlative aſſembly had expreſsly ordered their departure. What do you anſwer?"

Lewis. "I conformed to the decree on that ſubject."

Preſident. "You authoriſed d'Angremont and Gilles ſecretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpoſe of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of counter-revolution. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to organize a company of ſixty men, will be preſented to you. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I am quite ignorant of thoſe ſchemes attributed to me. The idea of a counter-revolution never entered my head."

Preſident.

Preſident. "You endeavoured, by conſiderable ſums, to bribe ſeveral members of the conſtituent and legiſlative aſſemblies. This fact is proved by letters from Dufreſne, Saint Leon, and many others, which will be produced."

Lewis. "Such plans were frequently preſented to me, but I rejected them."

Preſident. "Who were the members of the conſtituent and legiſlative aſſembly whom you corrupted?"

Lewis. "I never ſought to corrupt any. I know of none."

Preſident. "Who were the perſons that preſented plans to you?"

Lewis. "The plans were ſo abſurd, that I don't recollect."

Preſident. "To whom did you promiſe money?"

Lewis. "To none."

Preſident. "You ſuffered the French nation to be degraded in Germany, Italy, and Spain, by not exacting reparation for the inſults offered to the French in theſe countries. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "The diplomatic correſpondence proves the contrary. At any rate, that was the buſineſs of the miniſters."

Preſident. "On the 10th of Auguſt you reviewed the Swiſs guards at five o'clock in the morning, and they fired firſt on the citizens. What have you to anſwer?"

Lewis. "I that day reviewed all the troops that were aſſembled near me. The conſtituted authorities, the mayor of Paris, &c. were preſent. I had even requeſted a deputation might be ſent me from the national aſſembly, that they might adviſe me how I ſhould act in that emergency; and I afterwards took refuge in the aſſembly, with my family."

Preſident. "Why did you cauſe the Swiſs guard to be doubled, in the beginning of Auguſt?"

Lewis. "All the conſtituted authorities knew that the palace was to be attacked. As I was one of the conſtituted authorities, I had a right to defend myſelf."

Preſident.

Preſident. "Why did you ſend for the mayor of Paris on the evening of the 9th of Auguſt?"

Lewis. "Becauſe of the rumours which were ſpread."

Preſident. "You cauſed the blood of Frenchmen to be ſhed."

Lewis. "No, ſir, it was not me."

Preſident. "Did not you authorize Septeuil to undertake a commercial ſpeculation in grain, ſugar, and coffee, at Hamburgh, and in other towns? This is proved by Septeuil's own letters."

Lewis. "I know nothing about what you mention."

Preſident. "Why did you put a *veto* on the decree, ordering a camp to be formed round Paris?"

Lewis. "The conſtitution gave me full powers to ſanction decrees or not. At that time I ordered a camp nearer the frontiers, at Soiſſons."

Preſident. "Lewis, have you any thing to add in your defence?"

Lewis. "I demand a copy of the act of accuſation, and that I may be allowed a counſel to conduct my cauſe."

The laſt Will and Teſtament of Lewis the Sixteenth.

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. This day, the 21ſt day of December 1792, I Lewis the Sixteenth, king of France, having been for more than four months ſhut up with my family in the tower of the Temple, by thoſe who were my ſubjects, and deprived of every communication, even with my family, ſince the 11th of this month; and being moreover involved in a trial, of which, from the paſſions of men, it is impoſſible to foreſee the event; and for which neither pretext nor precedent can be found in any exiſting law: having no witneſs of my thoughts but God, and no one but him to whom I can addreſs myſelf, I here declare, in his preſence, my laſt will and ſentiments.

"I re-

" I recommend my ſoul to God my Creator, beſeeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge me according to my merits, but according to the merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, who offered himſelf as a ſacrifice to God his father for the human race, unworthy as we are, I myſelf in particular. I die in the communion of our Holy Mother, the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman church, which holds its powers by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from St. Peter, to whom Jeſus Chriſt intruſted them. I firmly believe all that is contained in the apoſtle's creed, and in the commandments of God and the church; in the ſacraments and myſteries as the catholic church teaches and has always taught. I have never preſumed to make myſelf a judge of the different manners of explaining the doctrines which divide the church of Jeſus Chriſt, but I have always adhered to, and if it pleaſes God to prolong my life, ſhall always abide by, the deciſions which the ſuperior eccleſiaſtics, in union with the holy church, have given, according to the diſcipline ob-

ſerved ſince Jeſus Chriſt. I lament, with my whole heart, thoſe of my brethren of mankind who are in error, but do not preſume to judge them; and I do not the leſs love them all in Jeſus Chriſt, as chriſtian charity enjoins. I implore God to pardon all my ſins. I have endeavoured ſcrupulouſly to know them, to deteſt them, and to humble myſelf in the preſence of the Almighty. Not having it in my power to avail myſelf of the miniſtry of a catholic prieſt, I pray God to receive the confeſſion which I have made to him; above all, my deep repentance for having ſigned my name (although againſt my will) to acts contrary to the diſcipline and belief of the catholic church, to which my heart has ever been ſincerely united. I beſeech God to accept my firm reſolution of taking the firſt opportunity in my power of making a full confeſſion of my ſins to a catholic prieſt, and of receiving the ſacrament of penitence. I beg all thoſe whom I have offended, through inadvertency, (for I do not recollect having ever intentionally offended any one,) and alſo thoſe to whom

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I may have given a bad example, to forgive me for the evil which ſuch conduct may have produced. I beſeech all thoſe who are endowed with charity to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God the pardon of my iniquities. I pardon, with my whole heart, thoſe who have become my enemies without cauſe, and I pray God to pardon them; as alſo thoſe who, from falſe or miſtaken zeal, have done me the greateſt injuries.

" I recommend to God my wife, my children, my ſiſter, my aunts, my brothers, and all thoſe who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any manner whatſoever. I earneſtly intreat of God to caſt the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my ſiſter, who have for a long time ſuffered with me; and in caſe of their loſing me, that he may be their ſupport and conſolation, as long as they ſhall remain in this periſhable world.

" I recommend my children to my wife. I never doubted her maternal tenderneſs;

and I recommend, above all, that ſhe will carefully endeavour to make them good chriſtians; to teach them to conſider worldly grandeur as dangerous and periſhable, and to fix their minds on eternity, where alone ſolid and laſting glory is to be found. I intreat my ſiſter to continue her tenderneſs to my children, and that ſhe will be to them as a parent, if they ſhould have the misfortune to loſe their mother. I beſeech my wife to forgive me all thoſe hardſhips ſhe has undergone on my account, and all the uneaſineſs I may have given her in the courſe of our union; and if ſhe ſhould think that ſhe has any cauſe to reproach herſelf on account of any part of her conduct towards me, ſhe may reſt aſſured that I retain nothing on my mind unfavourable to her.

" I recommend, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, to my children, after what they owe to God, which muſt ever be conſidered as their firſt duty, to remain always united to each other, ſubmiſſive and obedi-

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ent to their mother, and grateful for the pain and care ſhe takes of them; and I conjure them, for my ſake, that they will reſpect their aunt as a ſecond mother.

" If my ſon ſhould ever have the misfortune to be eſtabliſhed on the throne, I anxiouſly recommend that he ſhould devote himſelf to the happineſs of his countrymen; that he ought to diveſt himſelf of all reſentments and animoſities, particularly thoſe which have a reference to my misfortunes and miſeries. He can inſure the happineſs of the people only by reigning according to the laws; although, at the ſame time, a king cannot make himſelf reſpected, and do all the good which is in his heart, without a neceſſary degree of authority; without which he muſt be confined in his operations; and when he cannot inſpire reſpect, he neceſſarily becomes more hurtful than uſeful.

" I recommend to my ſon to take care of all thoſe perſons who have been attached to me, as far as the circumſtances, in which

he may find himſelf, ſhall afford him opportunity. He ought ever to regard this as a ſacred debt which I have contracted towards the children or parents of thoſe who periſhed for my ſake, or have been rendered miſerable on my account. I know there are ſeveral perſons, amongſt thoſe who were attached to me, who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even ſhewn ingratitude: but I forgive them (for in times of trouble and effervescence, men are not always maſters of their conduct); and I beſeech my ſon, ſhould he find an opportunity of ſerving them, to reflect only on their misfortunes.

"I wiſh it were in my power openly to expreſs my gratitude to all who have ſhewn me a truly diſintereſted attachment: but if I have been painfully affected by the ingratitude and diſloyalty of thoſe to whom I have always acted with kindneſs, I have likewiſe had the conſolation of receiving ſervices and ſtrong marks of attachment from ſeveral of my ſubjects, on whom I never

never had beſtowed any favour. I beg that all thoſe perſons will accept my grateful acknowledgments. In the preſent ſituation of things, I fear that I ſhould injure them by being more explicit on this ſubject: but I particularly exhort my ſon to ſeek opportunities of making them a ſuitable return. I think, however, that it would be calumniating the nation to expreſs any fear of openly recommending to my ſon M. de Chamilly and M. Hue, whoſe ſincere attachment to me has induced them to ſhut themſelves up along with me in this melancholy abode, and who have been frequently in danger of becoming victims to their generoſity. I alſo recommend to him Clery, with whoſe attention I have every reaſon to be ſatisfied ſince he has been with me; and as he has remained with me to the laſt, I beg of the commune to give to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my money, and all the other effects belonging to me which have been depoſited into the hands of the council of the commune.

"I moſt willingly pardon thoſe who guarded me for the harſhneſs of their conduct, and the conſtraint which they thought neceſſary to impoſe upon me. I have found in the Temple ſome perſons of feeling and humanity: may they long enjoy that ſerenity of mind which ſuch diſpoſitions naturally produce!

"I beſeech Meſſrs. de Maleſherbes, Tronchet, and Deſeze to receive my moſt grateful thanks and cordial acknowledgments for the pain and labour they have taken for me.

"I conclude, by declaring, before God, being ready to appear in his preſence, that I do not reproach myſelf with any of thoſe crimes which have been charged againſt me.

LEWIS."

FRENCHMEN,

Such are the ſentiments which holy religion inſpires, whoſe ſacred altars you have permitted to be overturned! Such was the king who was repreſented to you as a tyrant, and

and whom you permitted to be murdered in your name!

How long are you to endure the greateſt of all tyrannies? How long are you to be conſtrained to celebrate, as a national feſtival, the anniverſary of that execrable regicide?*

* FRANCAIS,

Tels ſont les ſentimens qu'inſpire cette religion ſainte, dont vous avez laiſſé renverſer les autels! Tel fut le roi quon vous a peint comme un tiran, et que vous avez laiſſé aſſaſſiner en votre nom!

Juſqu'à quand oſera-t-on vous forcer à celebrer, comme une fête nationale, l'anniverſaire de cet exécrable régicide?

CONCLUSION.

THE French revolution is an awful leſſon both to ſovereigns and ſubjects. May the inſtruction it conveys not be loſt to the human race, who have purchaſed it at the price of ſo much blood; nor to France, which it has plunged into ſo much guilt! May it teach kings, that benevolence, piety, and all the mild and amiable virtues which can adorn a throne, are not the qualities the moſt effectual for its ſupport! Juſtice and prudence to command, vigour and firmneſs in exacting obedience, are the only virtues by which a ſovereign can maintain his authority, and which can effectually ſecure him againſt the dangers of a revolution.

A king who is always juſt, is ſure to be ſufficiently benevolent: but a benevolent

lent king is not always ſure of being a juſt one.

May the people, admoniſhed by our calamities, learn to regard the government, under which they are born, as their moſt invaluable property; as the ſureſt protection of every thing that is dear to them! Let the experience of all ages, and of all nations, convince them, that there never exiſted a government free from abuſes; that thoſe to which they are accuſtomed are the eaſieſt to ſupport. Let them be taught, that thoſe ambitious, wicked, or mad perſons, who, under the ſpecious pretext of reforming abuſes, ſhall propoſe a change in their government, will ever prove their moſt dangerous enemies. It is to their inſidious doctrines and diabolical machinations that France may impute the horrible cataſtrophes and innumerable calamities which overwhelm and diſgrace her.

How ought ſhe now to abhor thoſe outrageous apoſtles of liberty and the ſovereignty of the people, who have never been able nor inclined to produce any other re-

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ſult from their doctrines than licentiouſneſs and anarchy! How ought ſhe to abhor thoſe pretended reſtorers of the rights of man, who have violated, with impunity, all thoſe rights, and who have trodden under foot the moſt ſacred laws of humanity!

It would be a moſt dangerous miſapprehenſion of the nature and principles of our revolution which ſhould lead us to believe, that a horror at the crimes and misfortunes which have accompanied it will arreſt its progreſs. It is but too plain, that it ſtill threatens all civilized nations; and that if the governments and perſons of property of every country, whom the fanaticiſm of equality, liberty, and the ſovereignty of the people have not yet infected, do not unite their efforts, by every poſſible means, to counteract the effects of this moral peſtilence, what has occurred to France will be only the firſt ſteps towards the general diſorganization of ſocial order. This peſtilence becomes more deadly and more dangerous than any phyſical calamity, becauſe

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it is more eaſy to diſguiſe its poiſon, by imputing all the crimes which have ſullied the French revolution to the ignorance and wickedneſs of its authors.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to the efficacy of the means which the dextrous propagators of revolutionary doctrines have employed to render them ſeducing to the eyes of the multitude. With what hypocriſy and fertility of invention have they not employed all the charms of imagination, enthuſiaſm, and eloquence! With what art have they not combined all the paſſions which have moſt ſway over mankind—ambition, vanity, the love of independence, of riches, of power! Is there a nation under Heaven, the majority of which is ſufficiently enlightened to reſiſt ſuch a bait, when employed with ſo much addreſs, and preſented to each individual under the form moſt likely to allure him? How many worthy and well-meaning men have we not ſeen in France, who have allowed themſelves to be ſeduced by the idea, that a revolution of ſome kind was neceſ-

ſary to give a conſtitution to our monarchy, which they were told was without one; and which, by a chance the moſt extraordinary, had exiſted during a period of many centuries, without a conſtitution?

To give to this paradox, equally dangerous and abſurd, all the force of a ſimple and demonſtrated truth, our modern politicians have begun by eſtabliſhing, that a monarchical conſtitution could not exiſt but by a great charter, or by a ſolemn contract between the king and the people. The neceſſary conſequence of this ſtrange diſtinction was, that France, having neither a great charter, nor a ſolemn contract between the king and the people, had no conſtitution.

This conſequence is certainly the only one which occurred to the authors of this definition, or thoſe whom it has deceived: but it preſents two others, equally inconteſtable, which well deſerve attention. The firſt is, that England, Denmark, and North America, being the only ſtates which have a charter, or a ſolemn contract between the

people and the government; all the others, which have exiſted in proſperity without it, from the beginning of the world to the preſent time, may ſtill diſpenſe with it. The ſecond is, that if it were demonſtrated, that by the natural progreſs of civilization and philoſophy, a government could not now ſubſiſt without a conſtitution, that is to ſay, without a charter, or ſolemn contract between the nation and the government, it follows, of courſe, that the French revolution muſt pervade every country, and overturn every government, except thoſe of England, Denmark, and North America. Theſe errors, which have been ſo diſaſtrous to France, had not, however, the merit or the danger of novelty. They have been long ſince refuted by Blackſtone, in his immortal work on the laws of England. The opinion of that celebrated lawyer and political writer, which has always been cited with veneration in England, may, with confidence, be oppoſed to the ſophiſtry of our modern Solons.

"Not that we can believe, with ſome theoretical writers, that there ever was a time when there was no ſuch thing as ſociety; and that, from the impulſe of reaſon, and through a ſenſe of their wants and weakneſſes, individuals met together in a large plain, entered into an original contract, and choſe the talleſt man preſent to be their governor. This notion of an actually exiſting, unconnected ſtate of nature, is too wild to be ſeriouſly admitted.

"But though ſociety had not its formal beginning from any convention of individuals, actuated by their wants and their fears, yet it is the ſenſe of their weakneſs and imperfection that keeps mankind together. This demonſtrates the neceſſity of union; which, therefore, is the ſolid and natural foundations and origin of ſociety. And this is what we mean by the original contract of ſociety; which, though perhaps in no inſtance it has ever been formally expreſſed at the firſt inſtitution of a ſtate, yet in nature and reaſon muſt always be underſtood and implied

in the very act of aſſociating together; for when ſociety is once formed, government reſults of courſe, as neceſſary to preſerve and to keep that ſociety in order. Unleſs ſome ſuperior be conſtituted, whoſe commands and deciſions all the members are bound to obey, they would ſtill remain as in a ſtate of nature, without any judge upon earth to define their ſeveral rights, and redreſs their ſeveral wrongs. "

" How the ſeveral forms of government we now ſee in the world at firſt actually began, is matter of great uncertainty, and has occaſioned infinite diſputes. It is not my buſineſs or intention to enter into any of them. However they began, or by what right ſoever they ſubſiſt, there is and muſt be in all of them a ſupreme, irreſiſtible, abſolute, uncontrolled authority, in which the *jura ſummi imperii*, or the rights of ſovereignty, reſide; and this authority is placed in thoſe hands, wherein (according to the opinion of the founders of ſuch reſpective ſtates, either expreſsly given, or collected from their tacit approbation) the

qualities requiſite for ſupremacy, wiſdom, goodneſs, and power, are the moſt likely to be found."—Vide *Blackſtone's Preliminary Diſcourſe*, ſecond ſection, upon *the nature of general laws.*

" It is indiſputable," continues the ſame author, " that parliaments, or general councils, are coëval with the kingdom itſelf." Yet it was not till the year 1215 that the conſtitution of parliament, as it now ſtands, was eſtabliſhed under the reign of king John, by the famous charter granted by that prince.

It is not a little remarkable, (according to the teſtimony of Blackſtone, in the ſame chapter,) that the execution of this ſolemn conſtitution does not appear to have begun till the year 1266, under the reign of Henry the Third.

Theſe facts, and many others which the hiſtory of England furniſhes, and which it would be tedious to detail, manifeſtly eſtabliſh, in the firſt place, that it is poſſible for government to have a conſtitution, without having a great charter. For many ages before

before the *magna charta*, England had a king; conſequently a monarchical government, and conſequently a conſtitution; for a government can no more exiſt without a conſtitution adapted to it, than an effect can ſubſiſt without a cauſe.

Secondly, That a conſtitution is not more ſtable, nor better executed, for being depoſited in a charter; for the charter of 1215 was not put in execution till fifty years afterwards, and even then in a very imperfect manner. King John, by that charter, promiſed to ſummon all archbiſhops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, perſonally, and all other tenants in chief under the crown, by the ſheriffs and bailiffs, to meet at a certain place with forty days' notice, to aſſeſs, aid, &c.; and king Henry the Third, by the ſummons of 1266, mentioned by Blackſtone, only calls to parliament knights, citizens, and burgeſſes.

In the preſent conſtitution of the parliament, the *magna charta* is only executed with regard to the houſe of peers, becauſe

the convocation of lords ſpiritual and temporal neceſſarily includes archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, and viſcounts: but the convocation of the commons does not include all who hold of the crown, but only the citizens and burgeſſes, ſummoned by the ordonance of 1266.

It is, however, certain, that a juſt idea can no more be formed of the Engliſh government, ſuch as it exiſts at preſent, from a peruſal of the great charter, than we could have a knowledge of what the French government was, previous to the revolution, from the *capitularia* of the ſecond race of French kings, which were nevertheleſs as authentic as the *magna charta*; and ſome articles of the ſame *capitularia* were ſtill in force when the revolution began.

"The great charter," as Blackſtone obſerves, "which was obtained, ſword in hand, from king John, and afterwards, with ſome alterations, confirmed in parliament by king Henry the Third, contains very few new grants; but was, for the moſt part, declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental

damental laws of England, afterwards confirmed by the ſtatute called *confirmatio cartarum*, whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as the common law; next, by a multitude of ſubſequent corroborating ſtatutes, from the firſt Edward to Henry the Fourth; then, after a long interval, by the petition of rights, which was a parliamentary declaration of the liberties of the people, aſſented to by king Charles the Firſt, in the beginning of his reign; which was cloſely followed by the ſtill more ample conceſſions made by that unhappy prince to his parliament, before the fatal rupture between them; and by the many ſalutary laws, particularly the *habeas corpus* act, paſſed under Charles the Second. To theſe ſucceeded the bill of rights, or declaration delivered by the lords and commons to the prince and princeſs of Orange, 13th February 1688, and afterwards enacted in parliament, when they became king and queen; which declaration concludes in theſe remarkable words: 'and they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon all and ſingular

ſingular the premiſes, as their undoubted rights and liberties.' And the act of parliament itſelf recognizes 'all and ſingular the rights and liberties aſſerted and claimed in the ſaid declaration to be the true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom.' Laſtly, theſe liberties were again aſſerted at the commencement of the preſent century, in the act of ſettlement, whereby the crown was limited to his preſent majeſty's illuſtrious houſe; and ſome new proviſions were added, at the ſame fortunate æra, for better ſecuring our religion, laws, and liberties; which the ſtatute declares to be 'the birth-right of the people of England,' according to the ancient doctrine of the common law."—Vide *Blackſtone*, book i. chap. i. *of abſolute rights of individuals.*

It is not then in the great charter, but in the entire body of the Engliſh laws, that we muſt look for the conſtitution of England; in the ſame manner as the ancient conſtitution of France did not conſiſt in the Salique law, but was compoſed of the *capitularia*, the

the great ordonances iſſued in conſequence of repreſentations of the ſtates general, and in contracts or treaties by which particular provinces were united to the crown; in a word, of all the laws which our kings ſwore, at their coronation, to maintain. Thus the whole body of the laws by which a ſtate is governed, determines the nature of its government, and forms what is called its conſtitution. Every other definition muſt be founded in ſophiſtry or abſurdity. Theſe laws are equally ſacred and permanent, whether they are depoſited in a great charter, or exiſt independent of it; becauſe the ſeal of ſovereign power ſtamps on all the ſame degree of ſtability and authenticity.

The manner in which theſe laws are eſtabliſhed in every country depends upon the nature of their reſpective governments, and always indicates the particular form of that government into which they are introduced; for inſtance, in governments purely monarchical, ſuch as that of France before the revolution, theſe laws proceeded from the king

king himſelf; becauſe the right of making new laws, and of abrogating the old, belonged inſeparably to the ſovereign power, with which he alone was inveſted.

In mixed or limited monarchies, ſuch as that of England, where the ſovereign power reſides in a parliament, compoſed of king, lords, and commons, the laws originate from that parliament; "for," ſays Blackſtone, "by the ſovereign power is meant the making of laws; for wherever that power reſides, all others muſt conform to, and be directed by it, whatever appearance the outward form and adminiſtration of the government may put on; for it is at any time in the option of the legiſlature to alter that form and adminiſtration by a new edict or rule, and to put the execution of the laws into whatever hands it pleaſes: and all the other powers of the ſtate muſt obey the legiſlative power in the execution of their ſeveral functions, or elſe the conſtitution is at an end."

This principle is equally recognized by Monteſquieu, and by all the political writers

writers whoſe opinions are of any weight. It is of the more importance to underſtand it, becauſe the falſe conſequences which have been deduced from it have produced the errors which led to the French revolution, and the crimes which have accompanied it.

" Every government," it has been ſaid, " in which the abſolute power of making new laws, and abrogating the old, reſides excluſively and finally in the hands of one perſon, is a deſpotic government: but this is the very power which exiſts in the kings of France; for any oppoſition which may poſſibly be attempted by the ſtates general, or any reſiſtance made by the parliaments, can have little or no avail, becauſe the ſtates general can never aſſemble without the king's leave, and he has the power of ſilencing the parliament when he pleaſes, by *lettres de juſſions*, *lettres de cachet*, or *lits de juſtice*. The French government, therefore, is indiſputably deſpotic."

I imagine I have ſtated that fatal argument in all its force, by which the ignorant

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or perfidious detractors of our monarchy have endeavoured to prove that we were not free, that France had not a conſtitution, and that of courſe one muſt be given to it, &c. &c. But by what inconceivable blindneſs has it eſcaped obſervation, that this argument attacks all exiſting governments with equal force; and whatever is their nature or form, declares them all to be equally deſpotic? In truth, no government ever has exiſted, or ever can, in which an abſolute, ſupreme, and independent power does not exiſt, as Blackſtone has eſtabliſhed, in the paſſage already quoted. The ſame author moreover obſerves,

"The excluſive right of making laws conſtitutes that ſovereign power, wherever it reſides; that is to ſay, when it is lodged in an aggregate aſſembly, conſiſting of all the members of the community, which is called a democracy; when it is lodged in a council compoſed of ſelect members, and then is ſtiled an ariſtocracy; or when it is intruſted in the hands of a ſingle perſon,

perſon, and then takes the name of a monarchy."

In theſe three ſorts of governments the ſovereign power is identically the ſame; that is to ſay, one, abſolute and irreſiſtible, and in each poſſeſſes the excluſive right of making new laws and abrogating the old; therefore if this power conſtitutes deſpotiſm, it follows, that all governments are equally deſpotic, only with this difference, that in the democratic, it is the deſpotiſm of the multitude; in the ariſtocratic, the deſpotiſm of a few; and in the monarchic, the deſpotiſm of one man. In vain we change our form of government, we muſt always find deſpotiſm, becauſe we find in all, the ſame ſovereign power, without which no government can exiſt.

All reaſoning contrary to theſe inconteſtible principles is founded upon the common miſtake of perpetually confounding abſolute with arbitrary power; although the one is the eſſential and neceſſary attribute of every government, and the other their degradation. The ſovereign power muſt always be abſolute in every govern-

ment

ment whatever. The moment it ceaſes to be ſuch, and finds a reſiſtance which it cannot overcome, the reſiſting force becomes, in fact, the ſupreme power, inſurrection annihilates legal authority, and the government no longer exiſts. Arbitrary power, or rather the arbitrary exerciſe of ſovereign authority, conſtitutes deſpotiſm: but this arbitrary exerciſe of ſovereign authority is not to be confounded with the power, eſſentially arbitrary, of making new or revoking old laws, as often as he, or thoſe who are inveſted with ſupreme power, think it neceſſary or uſeful. It is of importance to pay attention to this diſtinction; for if the perſon or perſons ſo inveſted were not excluſively the ſole judges reſpecting the circumſtances which render one particular law preferable to another, it would be indiſpenſably neceſſary that there ſhould exiſt another ſuperior authority, on whom that right ſhould devolve, and then the ſovereign power would neceſſarily exiſt in that ſuperior authority, which of courſe would poſſeſs the power, always *arbitrary*, of making and revoking

revoking laws, but which, conſidered in a true point of view, cannot be called *deſpotic.*

I ſhall only obſerve, in ſupport of my opinion, that if the faculty, neceſſarily inherent in the legiſlature, of enacting new laws, and revoking, arbitrarily, the ancient, was an attribute of deſpotiſm, the Engliſh government would then be, without doubt, the moſt deſpotic upon earth; for there exiſt none, in which the legiſlative power is more completely inveſted with that authority. Blackſtone has declared this in the moſt poſitive terms.

"The power and juriſdiction of parliament," ſays Sir Edward Coke, "is ſo tranſcendant and abſolute, that it cannot be confined, either for cauſes or perſons, within bounds. It hath ſovereign and uncontrollable authority in making, confirming, enlarging, reſtraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all poſſible denominations, eccleſiaſtical or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal: this being

the place where that abſolute, deſpotic power, which muſt in all governments reſide ſomewhere, is entruſted by the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms. It can regulate or new-model the ſucceſſion to the crown; as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the eſtabliſhed religion of the land; as was done, in a variety of inſtances, in the reign of king Henry VIII. and his three children. It can change and create afreſh even the conſtitution of the kingdom, and of parliaments themſelves; as was done by the Act of Union, and the ſeveral ſtatutes for triennial and ſeptennial elections. It can, in ſhort, do every thing that is not naturally impoſſible."

Sir Matthew Hale obſerves, "This being the higheſt and greateſt court, over which none other can have juriſdiction in the kingdom, if by any means a miſgovernment ſhould any way fall upon it, the ſubjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy."

The

The newly-imagined diſtinction, made by Monteſquieu, betwixt the legiſlative and executive power, which is regarded by our modern politicians as one of the moſt valuable diſcoveries of the age, appears to me in a very different light; the more deeply I have examined it, the more I became convinced of its being a ſource of errors, as dangerous as ſubtle: their tendency is nothing leſs than the deſtruction of every government. It is upon this diſtinction that our revolutionary orators have reſted all their declamation, and eſtabliſhed the pretended principle, "that the legiſlative and executive power, being in the ſame hand, conſtituted deſpotiſm." Far from daring to raiſe the ſlighteſt doubt againſt this aſſertion, it has been regarded as a fundamental truth, and, of courſe, the opinion has generally prevailed, that *France, where that union exiſts, was therefore under the yoke of deſpotiſm*; and, that the only means of delivering it from that ſhameful ſlavery, was to ſeparate the legiſlative power from the executive, by a line which neither

could paſs, and by placing them in different hands; but our experience has taught, that as ſoon as this ſeparation, ſo ſimple and innocent in theory, was put in execution, all the ſprings of government were at once broken; our ancient monarchy was ſhaken from the foundation, the edifice fell in pieces, and the moſt horrible anarchy was raiſed on its ruins.

Such will be the fate of all kingdoms in which the ſame doctrine ſhall be eſtabliſhed; for there is not a ſingle government (I will even venture to aſſert that none can exiſt) in which the legiſlative and executive power are not in ſome degree united in the ſame hands, and nearly in the ſame proportion they formerly were in France; for this plain reaſon, that no government can exiſt without ſupreme power; and that what eſſentially conſtitutes ſupreme power, is the right of framing laws, united to the power that is neceſſary to maintain their execution. In reality, when the legiſlative power, or rather that of making laws, is

completely ſeparated from the power of enforcing their execution, it is no more than what belongs to every man of an upright underſtanding, that of writing and publiſhing precepts, which, when conformable to the principles of morality, and the law of nature, are adopted and followed by all reaſonable and good men, without their being conſtrained to it. But it is not for good men that it is neceſſary to unite the legiſlative with the executive power, but for the too numerous claſs of unjuſt and ill-intentioned men, who are to be reſtrained from crimes only by the fear of puniſhment; and therefore this union has ever been conſidered as the neceſſary baſis of all governments; for the primitive object of their inſtitution was, to force individuals of every claſs to obey the eſtabliſhed laws for the general intereſt.

In order to render this truth evident, it will be ſufficient to define what muſt be underſtood by executive power.

We muſt, in the firſt place, diſtinguiſh executive power from its immenſe chain of intermediate agents, from the lord chief juſtice to the common hangman, who, in all governments, definitively exert the executive power, or conſummate its laſt act. It is to theſe agents that the function of executing the laws excluſively devolves; and, conſequently, the executive power, conſidered as an attribute of ſovereign power, conſiſts in a right to give to its agents the order of executing the laws; in the faculty, of furniſhing them with the means of enforcing that execution, and the power of rendering them reſponſible for the execution.

Such is the juſt and preciſe definition of executive power. It was in this manner that our kings exerted it in France; and in this manner that it has been exerted in England, and in all governments whatever; becauſe it is impoſſible that it can be otherwiſe.

If deſpotiſm was the conſequence of joining the legiſlative power to the executive,

cutive, ſuch as I have defined it, I could eaſily demonſtrate, that every exiſting government is deſpotic.

To begin with republics; it is evident, that, in them, thoſe who make the laws, are the ſame men who give to their agents the orders and means of enforcing and executing them.

In England, where it is juſtly boaſted, that theſe two powers are ſeparated as much as poſſible, without endangering the ſafety of the ſtate, they are both, in reality, united in the hands of the king, nearly as completely as they were in France, though leſs ſo in appearances; with this difference, that in England the plenitude of executive power is placed in the hands of the king without participation or obſtacle; whereas in France, the oppoſition and remonſtrances of parliaments, and of the ſtates of the provinces, often ſtopped the execution of the laws, and ſometimes cauſed them to be revoked or reſtricted.

The king of England cannot make laws; they muſt be propoſed to him

by the Houſe of Peers and Commons; but no law can be eſtabliſhed but ſuch as he approves, and gives his conſent to; his aſſent alone can render it efficient; that is to ſay, in England, as in France, the king is excluſively inveſted with the right of exerciſing that act of ſovereignty which eſſentially conſtitutes the ſupreme power, namely, that of making a law valid by his aſſent, which conſtitutes the eſſential part of legiſlative authority; for the faculty of framing a law *, is not a political power. In France, the king did not make laws more than in England; they were uſually propoſed to him by his council, and ſometimes by the ſtates general, by the parliaments, or by the ſtates of the provinces: it may be ſaid, indeed, that in France, the miniſters who compoſed the council, being nominated by the king, can have no other will than his, and dare not refuſe to draw up any law which he chooſes to demand; while, in England, the parliament, which is the only legiſlative council, is compoſed

* Faire des projets de loi.

of

of the repreſentatives of the nation, either hereditary or elective. But it may be anſwered to this objection, that the Engliſh conſtitution, whilſt apparently reducing that part of the legiſlative power which belongs to the king, fully compenſates it by the means of influence which is put in his hands.

Thus in the preſent ſtate of the Engliſh government, the portion of legiſlative power exerted by the king, is nearly as extenſive as that which the kings of France poſſeſſed. It is true, that if the parliamentary reform, which has been ſo often propoſed, but is now deferred till peace, ſhould it ever take place, a new order of things would be introduced, and the influence of the crown greatly weakened. But may it not alſo happen, (which God forbid!) that the intended reform may entirely overſet the government! However that may be, in my opinion, there is no political truth more evident than this, that the proſperity and ſafety of a nation depends, and will always depend, in the wiſe combination of the legiſ-

lative

lative and executive power in the hands of thoſe to whom the ſovereign power is intruſted, which conſiſts in the union of the two powers. I have certainly ſaid enough to prove, that their union never can produce deſpotiſm; that, therefore, the ſuppoſed neceſſity of ſeparating them is a ſyſtem equally pernicious and abſurd. The ſame may be ſaid of thoſe ideas and exaggerated fears of deſpotiſm, which we Frenchmen have had the ſimplicity to believe inherent in the nature of our government, becauſe there were ſtate-priſons in France, and becauſe miniſters ſometimes made an unjuſt uſe of *lettres de cachet*; as if there were not ſtate-priſons in the freeſt countries; and as if particular acts of tyranny, by the agents of the executive power, which happen in every government, could alter their nature.

With reſpect to *lettres de cachet*, as no law authoriſed them, nothing was more eaſy than to have aboliſhed them irrevocably, on the requiſition of the ſtates general, and without altering the form of the go-

vernment; but fear never reaſons; and it was, in reality, the panic terror of deſpotiſm, which delivered up France to thouſands of deſpots more atrocious and ſanguinary than any of thoſe whoſe crimes have been tranſmitted by hiſtory.

Deſpotiſm cannot be called a government, but rather an abuſe to which all governments are liable; and perhaps it is leſs to be feared from thoſe in which ſovereign authority is in the hands of one individual, than in thoſe governments where the ſovereign power is in the hands of many.

The beſt conſtitution is certainly that which is beſt defended againſt deſpotiſm, and which is provided with the moſt effectual means of repreſſing its uſurpations; and, perhaps, the ancient conſtitution of France, which is ſo little known, and has been ſo much calumniated, united theſe two advantages in a degree that ought to have inſpired the thinking part of the nation with zeal to defend it.

Theſe

Theſe two propoſitions are of ſo much importance as to require a fuller explanation.

I have ſaid, that deſpotiſm was leſs to be apprehended under the government of one, than under that of many. And I have certainly ſaid the truth, if I can prove, that deſpotiſm can be more eaſily introduced, more firmly eſtabliſhed, and exerciſed with greater violence under the government of many, than under that of one. In the firſt place, all mankind are deſirous of power and riches; thoſe who are not in poſſeſſion of theſe advantages, wiſh to acquire them; and thoſe already in poſſeſſion of them, endeavour to augment what they have.

Theſe paſſions, which have, with ſome ſhades of difference, equally characteriſed men of every claſs, in every age and country, may naturally be ſuppoſed to have leſs influence over the minds of princes, who are by birth poſſeſſed of more power and riches, than others. It is in the paſſions of men, but above all, in ambition and avarice, that

that we muſt ſearch for the cauſe of deſpotiſm. The ambitious man, inveſted with a little power, is naturally inclined to uſe every means lawful, or unlawful, to augment it. The avaricious man, if powerful enough to plunder the weak, will not fail to plunder them. The violent, the revengeful, and the cruel, exerciſe every act of deſpotiſm to ſatisfy thoſe paſſions, provided that they are endowed with that energy and character requiſite for deſpotiſm; for every one has not the power of being deſpotic who has the inclination to be ſo.

The ſame men, who, taken ſeparately, would have an horror at the idea of a ſingle act of deſpotiſm, when united, animate and embolden each other to perpetrate many without ſcruple. Whether it is becauſe the reſolution of each individual gains ſtrength from that of the whole, or becauſe the more timid are certain of partaking equally in the additional power or riches reſulting from ſucceſsful acts of deſpotiſm, and of having an unequal ſhare of reſponſibility in the acts which are unſucceſsful.

If

If, as I flatter myſelf, theſe propoſitions are juſt, it evidently follows:

1ſt, That kings are leſs inclined to deſpotiſm than other men, becauſe they are neceſſarily leſs ſenſible to the two chief paſſions which lead to it, namely, avarice and ambition. When I ſay ambition, I mean the love of power; for a paſſion for glory, the only one becoming a prince, has nothing in common with deſpotiſm.

2d, That a king cannot be a deſpot unleſs he unites the violent paſſions which produce deſpotiſm, with the energy and intrepidity neceſſary to put them in action; while, on the contrary, in thoſe governments in which power is exerted by many, deſpotiſm ariſes from this union of the paſſions of ſome with the energy of others. Accordingly we find in almoſt every ariſtocratic government a perpetual bias to augment its power; becauſe the ſhare which falls to each individual, muſt be in proportion to the power of the whole. They, therefore, employ the authority which they have by law, in arrogating to themſelves what

what does not legally belong to them, and then uſe the legiſlative power, by making new laws to ſanction their uſurpations.

It may happen, however, that a weak prince may have a very deſpotic miniſter; our own hiſtory furniſhes a ſtriking example of this; but, for one man of the energy of cardinal Richlieu, how many inſtances have we in France of weak kings chooſing for their miniſters, men who are as weak and as incapable of governing as themſelves. In this conſiſts the greateſt danger of all monarchical governments. If the chancellor Maupeou had remained in place, it is more than probable that the revolution would not have happened, becauſe neither M. Maurepas nor M. Necker would have been called to the miniſtry.

I believe I have ſufficiently demonſtrated that acts of deſpotiſm muſt ever be more frequent under the government of many, than under that of one perſon; and, conſequently, that deſpotiſm can be more eaſily introduced under the firſt than under the ſecond. It alſo ſupports itſelf more permanently

nently in the former, becauſe the energy, the paſſions, and vices which produce deſpotiſm, are ſo rarely united in the ſame perſon, that it ſeldom happens that one prince of a deſpotic character is immediately ſucceeded by another of the ſame diſpoſition; whereas, this union exiſts ſo ſtrongly in a numerous body of men, that, when once poſſeſſed of deſpotiſm, they maintain it for a courſe of years.

In Venice, for example, deſpotiſm has exiſted for ages; whereas, in Conſtantinople, many ſultans may be quoted, whoſe reigns have not been ſullied by a ſingle act of deſpotiſm.

The French republic has but too well ſhewn, by its revolutionary tribunals, by its requiſitions, by the law of the *maximum*, &c. &c. that under the government of many, deſpotiſm is more oppreſſive than under the government of one.

I have alſo aſſerted, "that it was more difficult to introduce deſpotiſm into the ancient conſtitution of France than perhaps into any other; and that which afforded

afforded the moſt effectual means of repreſſing any attempt to that purpoſe;" and I ſhall neither be ſurpriſed nor offended, if the proofs with which I ſupport my opinion, expoſe me to the reproach of giving it with too much modeſty.

Let us firſt eſtabliſh by general principles, and by indiſputed facts, what was the nature of the ancient French government, and what were the general laws which collectively formed its conſtitution.

"A monarchy," ſays Monteſquieu, "is a government where one rules by fixed and eſtabliſhed laws." *The Spirit of Laws, book* ii. *chap.* 1.

"Intermediate, ſubordinate, and dependent powers conſtitute the nature of a monarchical government; the moſt natural, intermediate, ſubordinate power is that of the nobility; it in ſome meaſure belongs to the very eſſence of monarchy. Intermediate ranks are not alone ſufficient in monarchy: it is alſo neceſſary, that there ſhould be a ſeparate political body of men intruſted with the preſervation of the laws,

and authoriſed to prevent their being forgotten or violated." *Ibid.*

It is evidently the French monarchy which Monteſquieu meant to deſine in this paſſage, as there is no other in which the various characteriſtics, which (according to this wiſe author) conſtitute a monarchical government, are ſo completely combined. In effect, the intermediate and ſubordinate powers it requires, exiſt, firſt, in the ſtates general, the nobles among which formed one of the three orders; ſecondly, in the particular ſtates of ſome provinces; thirdly, in the parliaments, which were alſo intruſted with the laws, with their promulgation, and with the duty of maintaining them when they were infringed.

It is true, that the ſtates general had not been aſſembled ſince the year 1614. The preſident Henault, who is much too laconic upon ſo eſſential a point of our hiſtory, merely obſerves, "that the particular aſſembly of the ſtates general of that year, was the laſt, becauſe it was found that thoſe aſſemblies were uſeleſs." He might, and

and he ought to have ſupported that opinion by arguments, in explaining by what means the parliaments, ever ſince the meeting of the ſtates general held at Blois in the year 1588, had been conſidered, if not as the repreſentatives of the nation, at leaſt as its moſt faithful and permanent organs, and ſupplying advantageouſly by their *remonſtrances*, the petitions (*doleances*) of the ſtates general. It was in this point of view, that the order of the *Tiers* at Blois, declared formally in their *cahier*, that the parliaments were the ſtates general in miniature *.

This declaration, which was not then contradicted by either of the two other orders, has been, in ſome degree, ſanctioned ſince, both by the acquieſcence of the king, and the conſent of the nation; a tacit conſent, it muſt be acknowledged, but indiſputably a real one, ſince the nation, aſſembled by bailiwicks at the convocation of the

* Les parlemens étoient des états généraux au petit pied.

ſtates in 1614, did not commiſſion its deputies to proteſt againſt it.

The right delegated, or at leaſt tacitly yielded to the parliaments, of enlightening the king by their remonſtrances, was in no way prejudicial to the right which the nation had of aſſembling; and, accordingly, the ſtates general were convoked immediately on the nation's expreſſing that deſire by the voice of the parliaments, who, at the ſame time, relinquiſhed the powers with which they had formerly been inveſted.

This ſtep, which was accompanied with the inconſiderate declaration, that they had uſurped theſe powers, revived the order of things which exiſted before the ſtates of Blois; that is to ſay, that we can no longer regard the convocation of the ſtates as uſeleſs; but, on the contrary, it ought immediately to follow the reſtoration of order and tranquillity in the kingdom, to afford the king an opportunity of concerting with the ſtates general, ſome method

of avoiding the inconveniences and dangers of aſſembling them too often, and in order to re-eſtabliſh, on a firm baſis, all the laws which protect liberty, and ſecure perſons and property, precious and ſalutary laws, ſufficient to prevent the abuſes of power and the horrors of anarchy.

Thus, the intermediate and ſubordinate powers which (according to Monteſquieu's definition) conſtitute a monarchical government, have always exiſted in France, either in the ſtates general, in the provincial ſtates, or in the parliaments.

This laſt, as I have already obſerved, was alſo entruſted with maintaining the eſtabliſhed laws by which the ſtate is governed, the ſum total of which forms the conſtitution; for this is another eſſential characteriſtic of a monarchical government. The eſtabliſhed laws are alone obligatory, equally binding to the monarch and the ſubject, while the deſpot acknowledges no law but his will, and frequently puniſhes the crime of not gueſſing it, with as much ſeverity as that of infringing it when

known. This is what Blackſtone denominates making laws *ex poſt facto.*

We muſt be careful not to confound this arbitrary and inordinate exerciſe of ſupreme power, which is the peculiar attribute of deſpotiſm, with the neceſſary power which governments of every country poſſeſs, that of making new laws and abrogating the old. This faculty, whether exerciſed by many, or placed in the hands of one perſon, may produce errors and oppreſſive laws, but not deſpotiſm, which always conſiſts in the arbitrary violation of exiſting laws; and, therefore, can have nothing in common with the faculty of making new laws. Here the two ſtrongeſt objections, or at leaſt the two moſt ſpecious which have been made againſt our ancient government, occur.

"There are not," it has been ſaid, "any fixed laws in a ſtate when it depends on the will of the king to annul them, and to ſubſtitute others; but the king always poſſeſſed that right in France, and exerted it; it therefore follows, that there were no fixed

fixed laws in France; and conſequently its government was not monarchical, ſince, according to the definition of Monteſquieu, a monarchical government is that in which one perſon governs by fixed laws."

"What ſignifies ſubordinate and dependant powers? Of what avail are theſe in France againſt the will of the king?"

It is to be wiſhed, that Monteſquieu had been leſs laconic, in a definition ſo important, and that he had, at leaſt, explained what he meant by fixed laws: he could not, certainly, mean laws which could never be changed; for, in that caſe, his definition of a monarchical government would be a groſs error. In effect, the worſt and moſt abſurd of all governments would be, undoubtedly, that in which the laws had remained unchangeable from its origin, the conſtant duty of legiſlative power being to purſue by new laws, and even accelerate the progreſs of civilization, uſeful knowledge, induſtry, commerce, &c. &c. The manners of one age differ from thoſe of another: new abuſes call for new

means of repreſſing them, as new diſeaſes call for new remedies. The legiſlator ought to ſtudy theſe variations until he becomes maſter of them, ſo as to direct them for the public good.

Theſe inconteſtable truths ſhew the abſurdity of the ſyſtem of fixed laws taken in the ſenſe which is given to Monteſquieu, by thoſe who employ his definition of a monarchical government, in order to prove that France was not a monarchy.

There are, indeed, unalterable laws which the perverſity of man may violate, but which no power on earth can efface. Theſe immutable precepts, which may be regarded as the fundamental laws of all governments, the eternal code of the right of nations, which the Supreme Being has engraven on every heart, forms the baſis of what we call the moral or natural law.

"This law of nature," as Blackſtone obſerves, "being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himſelf, is of courſe ſuperior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at-

at all times: no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this; and ſuch of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."

But it could not be this ſacred law which Monteſquieu had in view, it being equally unalterable in every form of government. He only adverted to poſitive laws, and nobody knew better than he did, that theſe ought to be and are in their nature revocable. Therefore, when he ſays that a monarchical government muſt be ruled by fixed laws, he can only mean, that theſe laws muſt be endued with all the forms neceſſary, in order to inſure their execution, until it is judged proper to repeal them; and, alſo, that the obligations they impoſe, ought to be explained with ſuch preciſion, as may prevent the poſſibility of their ſuffering any arbitrary extenſion or reſtriction. Such was the monarchical government as it exiſted in France, and ſuch is the true ſenſe of Monteſquieu's definition.

The

The ſecond objection is not more difficult to be removed: in effect, it is ſo much the eaſier to conceive what is meant by the *dependant powers* in a monarchical government; becauſe that form of government is, in its nature, eſſentially and neceſſarily excluſive of any power whatſoever, equal or ſuperior to that of the king; from the moment that the monarch ceaſes to be excluſively inveſted with the plenitude of ſupreme power, the government ceaſes to be monarchical.

But (it is ſaid) if theſe intermediate powers are ſubordinate and dependent, what effect can they have in oppoſition to the will of the king? None, I admit; and it is fortunate that they have none, as long as he makes an advantageous uſe of his lawful authority; but they can produce a very powerful effect when he abuſes it. In France, for inſtance, the ſtates general could refuſe their conſent to the taxes, which they conſidered either as uſeleſs or too heavy: they could propoſe new laws, and demand the reform of abuſes. It would

would be as difficult to cite an example of the refuſal of a juſt and reaſonable demand of that kind, as to give an inſtance of a tax being eſtabliſhed, in ſpite of their withholding their aſſent. They had not, indeed, been aſſembled ſince the year 1614; but the royal authority, far from being ſtrengthened by that circumſtance, had been more fettered and reſtrained by the continual oppoſition, and the remonſtrances of the parliaments. We cannot now doubt, that the French revolution aroſe from the circumſtance, that the royal authority had no longer ſufficient energy to reſiſt theſe very *dependent and ſubordinate powers*, which have a perpetual tendency to diminiſh their own dependence and ſubordination.

If they had taken leſs advantage of the ſtate of weakneſs to which they themſelves had reduced the government, even the fatal deficit might have been paſſed over without any violent effect. We ſhould then have had neither aſſemblies of notables, nor of the ſtates general, nor a republic:

public: we ſhould now be in poſſeſſion of all we have loſt. Even on the ſuppoſition, therefore, that the French monarchy were to be re-eſtabliſhed, we ought to be much leſs ſolicitous to augment the ſtrength of theſe intermediate powers, than to put it under proper regulation, and with wiſdom and caution to aſcertain its limits, ſo that they might aſſiſt the king without oppoſing his legal authority. When theſe powers are ſo conſtituted, they beſtow on monarchical government an ineſtimable advantage of which no other is ſuſceptible, that of erecting a powerful barrier againſt oppreſſive laws and abuſes of authority of whatever kind. On this account I have already obſerved, that deſpotiſm and tyranny are with more difficulty introduced under the government of one perſon than under that of many; and, in reality, we find, in ariſtocratic governments, that the moſt tyrannical and arbitrary acts being cloathed with the legiſlative character, by the very power from which they flow, are put into immediate execution, without the poſſibility

poſſibility of uſing any legal means to procure their repeal, or even their modification. The people have then no choice left betwixt paſſive obedience and inſurrection; and that laſt reſource of deſpair or of crime often produces a thouſand times more evil than it can repair.

Even in England—in that high-ſpirited nation, which is ſo enthuſiaſtically attached to its conſtitution, which it regards as the moſt popular and free in exiſtence, the people, if loaded with oppreſſive taxes, have no other means of expreſſing their diſcontent but by petitions, (always ineffectual againſt a bill once paſſed,) by fruitleſs declarations of pamphleteers, and, finally, by inſurrection.

It is true that that extreme reſource is there attended with leſs danger than elſewhere, either becauſe the miniſter neceſſarily having the majority of the parliament in his favour, his party muſt always be the ſtrongeſt, or becauſe the greater part of the nation, being convinced that by their repreſentatives they exerciſe a portion of the

the ſupreme power, do not chooſe to revolt againſt their own authority, or to deſtroy that which they conſider as their own work. But although there does not exiſt in England, an intermediate power betwixt the people and the ſupreme authority exerted by the parliament, compoſed of king, lords, and commons, this government has other very valuable advantages; namely, that of loſing nothing of its original vigour under the weakeſt prince, and in having nothing to fear from the incapacity of miniſters. During the reign of the weakeſt, as in that of the moſt able monarch, the reins of government conſtantly remain in the hands of the chancellor of the exchequer, who is always a man of the firſt abilities in the kingdom, and who, having the nomination of the other miniſters, never fails to appoint ſuch perſons as he thinks moſt capable of ſupporting his meaſures. Unfortunately it was not ſo in France. Intrigue and favour had the greateſt influence, not only in the nomination to employments, but even in the choice of miniſters, becauſe the king had

had no means of weighing the merit of thoſe who were preſented to him. From thence proceeded that rapid and deſtructive ſucceſſion of bad miniſters which occaſioned the diſſolution of the government. This was one of the moſt conſiderable and pernicious abuſes which, through the weakneſs of government, had crept into our ancient monarchy; and the preſent revolution is the fatal conſequence.

It would be eaſy to prove, that it broke out exactly at a period when almoſt all the important offices of ſtate were filled by men of incapacity. But this abuſe was by no means inherent in our ancient conſtitution; it was, on the contrary, ſo foreign to it, that until the end of the fifteenth century the appointment to the important place of chancellor of France was made by the king, from a liſt of three perſons elected by delegates from all the ſovereign courts of the kingdom, choſen for that purpoſe; and in each of theſe courts the appointment of preſident was made by the king, from a liſt of three perſons choſen by the members of thoſe courts. It would have

been eaſy, not only to re-eſtabliſh this form, but infinitely to improve it, by extending it to all offices; dividing them into various claſſes, and eſtabliſhing among them neceſſary gradations. This, if wiſely conducted, would have preſented to men of merit a fair proſpect of gradually attaining the moſt eminent ſituations, without any other protection or recommendation but thoſe of talents and of virtue. I know very well that intrigue and cabal have often had too much influence in the ancient manner of election to offices: but this inconvenience would no longer be to be dreaded, if miniſters were ſubjected to a rigorous reſponſibility, and if all electors who made an indifferent choice ſhould be deprived of the privilege of electing for a certain time; and all who made a bad choice ſhould be deprived of their vote for ever *.

If the law which ſhould eſtabliſh this important improvement were, at the requi-

* I only *mention* this idea of M. Maleſherbes; the complete illuſtration of it requires a detail too extenſive to have a place in this work. I reſerve that taſk for ſome future period, when it may be fulfilled to the advantage of my country.

ſition

ſition of the ſtates general, declared to be irrevocable, and if our kings were obliged to take a ſolemn oath, at their coronation, never to infringe it, the adminiſtration would always be compoſed of the ableſt men of the nation, and all public employments would be filled by men of talents and integrity. By this means we ſhould acquire the principal advantages of the Engliſh conſtitution, with this eſſential difference, that in England this advantage only exiſts with regard to the nomination of the prime miniſter; whereas in France it would extend to all public offices, without exception. One neceſſary conſequence of this law would be to overturn the chief abuſes which time introduced into our ancient government, under which we lived for ſo many ages; and which, in ſpite of the vices imputed to it, muſt have been well ſuited to the character and genius of the French nation, ſince it ſubſiſted for ſuch a length of time. It is, however, with this ſame government that ſome orators, equally ambitious and imprudent, have endeavoured to diſguſt us, in order that we

might adopt the Engliſh conſtitution, or a government with permanent aſſemblies; becauſe this form offered to their ſelfiſh vanity and ambition, ſituations to which their talent for ſpeaking might raiſe them.

Whatever are the advantages of the Britiſh conſtitution, it muſt be confeſſed that it has only ſubſiſted, ſuch as it is at preſent, one hundred and eight years; therefore it is not abſolutely demonſtrated that there are not ſeeds of deſtruction contained in the very nature of it. I am willing, however, to believe, that this conſtitution will ſtand its ground unſhaken for ages; and I am convinced, that no form of government could be more ſuitable to the genius of the Engliſh nation: but I am alſo convinced, that there is none leſs conformable to that of the French; unleſs it could be proved that the climates of England and France are the ſame, and that there is no difference in the manners, characters, and tempers of theſe two nations; for it has been univerſally acknowledged, and common ſenſe indicates, that the laws of a country cannot be good, unleſs they are

adapted

adapted to the peculiarities above enumerated. If the Engliſh conſtitution ever comes to be adopted in France, the conſequences are not difficult to be foreſeen.

The French have too much vivacity and petulance to be capable of carrying on a cold methodical diſcuſſion upon any ſubject whatever. Ten or twelve, even of the wiſeſt and moſt judicious, cannot continue a converſation, on any intereſting ſubject, for a quarter of an hour, without a degree of heat, which aſſumes the appearance, and ſometimes the nature, of a quarrel; all of them ſpeaking at once, and all being more capable, and much more inclined, to ſpeak than to liſten: but inſtead of ten or twelve ſpeakers, if there are a greater number, the diſpute will be proportionably more loud and violent. It muſt be ſtill far worſe in a houſe of commons, or in a national aſſembly, compoſed of deputies from the whole kingdom; becauſe in all popular meetings, thoſe who ſpeak moſt or beſt are always certain of having moſt votes: ſo that the parliament of France would be compoſed of the greateſt talkers in the nation, and would

neceſſarily be extremely tumultuous; for there never exiſted a numerous aſſembly in France which was not tumultuous.

It is impoſſible to expect wiſe laws from the deliberations of ſuch a parliament, becauſe the genius requiſite to conceive them, the reflexion to combine them, are incompatible with precipitation and paſſion. The country, of courſe, would be involved in ſome new and ſudden calamity. But on the ſuppoſition that ſuch a parliament could be kept in order by the means of influence and corruption, the enormous additional expence which would be the conſequence of that ſyſtem, would require ſuch an additional taxation as would be moſt oppreſſive to a nation like France, which has not the prodigious reſources that England derives from her commerce; therefore theſe taxes would unavoidably be raiſed upon land, and upon the immediate neceſſaries of life; for after the devaſtation and ruin of the revolution, it will be long before much can be produced by taxes on luxury. It muſt alſo be conſidered, that France, from its ſituation, being forced, in times

of peace, to keep up a ſtanding army, eight times more numerous than that of England, requires larger funds, not only for the regular expences of this army, but alſo to allow for peculation; an abuſe which will undoubtedly be tolerated, becauſe military employments being the principal means of influence poſſeſſed by government, it could not reſtrain the profits annexed to them, without diminiſhing that influence.

If theſe conſiderations have not ſufficient weight to make the enthuſiaſts of the Britiſh conſtitution renounce their deſire of attempting its eſtabliſhment in France, it would be eaſy to demonſtrate, that ſhe never will be in a ſituation to defray the expences of ſuch an experiment. Let us ſuppoſe, contrary to all probability, that the Engliſh form of government ſhould, upon its introduction into France, immediately acquire the ſame degree of vigour and ſtability which it only attained in England by the improvements which experience ſuggeſted; even in that caſe the annual expence of adminiſtration, at the ſame rate

which it coſts in England, with more than double the extent of territory and population, and an army eight times more numerous, would amount to above forty millions ſterling; that is, more than double the annual expence of government before the revolution; and it is but too evident, that France is not in a ſituation to ſupport ſuch an expence. All idea of ever eſtabliſhing the Britiſh conſtitution in that country muſt therefore be renounced *.

What government, then, is beſt fitted for France? There is only one—that under which it flouriſhed during the courſe of ſo many ages; that which its preſent calami-

* For the ſervice of the year 1785, the Britiſh parliament decreed for the army, compoſed of 18,053 men, the ſum of £. 2,286,263.

For the artillery - 350,820

Total 2,637,083

An army eight times more numerous, would amount to 144,424 men, and the expence would amount to the ſum of 21,096,344 l.; that is to ſay, 527,408,600 livres.

The expences of a republican form of government being more conſiderable than thoſe of a monarchical, France is leſs able to ſupport them. It has not hitherto, and never will be able, but by ruining all the monied men by continual bankruptcies, and all the landed men by enormons taxation.

ties perpetually recall to our ſaddened remembrance; and to which the irreſiſtible force of time and events muſt bring us back, ſooner or later. May the prince who is called upon to revive this ancient conſtitution ſecure its ſtability by a ſolemn and irrevocable law, which may for ever prevent its being expoſed to the danger which inceſſantly threatens all monarchies; namely, that of periſhing under a weak adminiſtration! That ſalutary law, of which the revolution pointed out the neceſſity, and which will become the *palladium* of every monarchical ſtate wherein it ſhall be adopted, will conſiſt, principally, in admitting to all offices of adminiſtration none but men who are generally acknowledged to be capable of fulfilling them, by having diſplayed talents and merit in inferior ſituations. This law, by obliging miniſters to a rigorous reſponſibility, would effectually prevent the abuſes of the old government. France would then be truly regenerated, and might hope, in ſome degree, to repair her diſaſters, and to ſee peaceful and

happy days under a king, whoſe power to do good would be unlimited, and who would be deprived of the means of doing ill; for there is no degree of proſperity which may not be promoted by a king, ſeconded by able and well-inclined miniſters; and what evil has he in his power, with miniſters who are inevitably reſponſible for whatever evil the king ſhall do? Their wiſdom, diſcernment, and firmneſs would preclude the effects of the weakneſs and even the vices of the monarch; by their dextrous management, the violence of his character would, in the eyes of the people, appear energy; his weakneſs, moderation; his avarice, economy; and his profuſion, liberality.

Under ſo happy a government, the love of our king and of our country, ſentiments which, when they were linked together, were ſtrongly felt by Frenchmen, but which are now annihilated in conſequence of being disjoined, would revive in every breaſt, and all the ſeeds of ſedition and revolution would be blaſted for ever.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Lettre de M. Bertrand de Moleville, *ci-devant miniſtre de la Marine, au Préſident de la Convention Nationale.*

" Londres, le 6 Novembre 1792.

" Monſieur le Préſident,

" QUOIQUE le droit de réſiſter à l'oppreſſion emporte néceſſairement celui de la fuir, lorſque tous les moyens de réſiſtance ſont anéantis; comme il ne répugne pas moins à mon caractère, qu'à mes principes de fuir mes ennemis, et de déſerter ma patrie; je m'empreſſe de dénoncer moi-même à la convention nationale, mon abſence momentanée du royaume, et les circonſtances impérieuſes qui l'ont rendue indiſpenſable;

diſpenſable ; elles ſont détaillées dans l'acte dont la teneur s'enſuit :

" ' L'an 1792, et le 11 Octobre. Nous Antoine-François Bertrand de Moleville, ci-devant miniſtre d'état au département de la marine, ayant éprouvé, de la part de tous les officiers publics auxquels nous nous ſommes adreſſés, le refus le plus formel de retenir et expédier aucun acte de notre volonté, dans la crainte de ſe compromettre, attendu les circonſtances, avons rédigé, et écrit de notre main, la déclaration ſuivante, pour ſervir et valoir ce que de raiſon, en attendant que notre poſition nous permette de lui donner une forme plus authentique.

" ' Objet d'une perſécution auſſi injuſte que barbare ; ſignalé comme ſuſpect des plus grands crimes, quand je n'ai pas à me reprocher la faute le plus légère, et quand on n'a pas l'ombre d'une preuve à m'oppoſer ; réduit à me cacher, depuis plus de deux mois, pour ſouſtraire ma tête au fer des aſſaſſins, je devois eſpérer, ſans doute, qu'après un auſſi long terme leur rage ſeroit enfin appaiſée ; mais l'heureux haſard

ſard qui m'en a préſervé, n'a fait que l'irriter encore davantage. Non content des attentats dirigés contre ma perſonne, et exercés contre mes propriétés, le comité de ſurveillance de la commune n'a pas balancé à faire arrêter mes deux frères, ſans preuves, ſans indices, ſans dénonciation quelconque, et à les faire jetter dans les cachot de l'Abbaye et de la Force, quelques jours avant l'époque fixée pour le maſſacre des priſonniers ; et ſur les repréſentations que le plus jeune des deux eſſaya de faire contre l'illégalité d'un empriſonnement ſans motifs, le commiſſaire qui l'interrogeoit oſa lui faire cette réponſe révoltante : *Les gens de votre eſpèce ont aſſez uſé des lettres-de-cachet du deſpotiſme, il eſt temps qu'ils connoiſſent les lettres-de-cachet populaires.* Heureuſement le peuple, moins altéré de mon ſang, même dans l'affreuſe journée du 2 Septembre, a eu la juſtice d'épargner le ſang de mes frères, et de proclamer leur innocence. Mes ennemis, trompés encore une fois dans leurs eſpérances homicides, ont fait une nouvelle tentative, dont l'horrible ſuccès a

mis

mis le comble à mon malheur ; ils ont, tout récemment, faire mettre le feu au château qui étoit la principale habitation de ma famille ; tous les titres, meubles, et effets qui y étoient renfermés, ont été la proie des flammes ; et mon malheureux père, dévoré par le chagrin que lui cauſoit la poſition critique dè ſes trois enfans, n'a pas pu réſiſter à cette dernière cataſtrophe : peu de jours après en avoir reçu la nouvelle, nous avons appris que la mort venoit de nous enlever ce vieillard, moins reſpectable encore par ſon âge, que par ſes vertus.

" ' Accablé ſous le poids de tant de calamités, et ne pouvant pas ſupporter l'idée d'être même innocemment la cauſe d'un échec auſſi conſidérable dans la fortune de mes frères, je n'ai pas dû balancer un inſtant à prendre le ſeul parti qui puiſſe les en dédommager : en conſéquence je leur ai déjà déclaré, et je leur déclare et notifie de nouveau, par le préſent acte, que je renonce, formellement, à la ſucceſſion de mon père, en quoi qu'elle conſiſte ou puiſſe conſiſter ; et que je donne mon conſentement, pur et

ſimple,

ſimple, à ce qu'elle ſoit partagée entre eux, conformément à la loi, comme ſi je n'exiſtois pas : et attendu que ma poſition actuelle me prive de tous les moyens de donner à cette déclaration l'authenticité néceſſaire pour en aſſurer la validité, parce qu'aucun notaire n'oſe me prêter ſon miniſtère, dans la crainte de ſe compromettre ; et que la ſucceſſion de mon père étant ouverte depuis pluſieurs jours, ne peut pas reſter plus longtemps en ſuſpens, je promets et m'oblige d'aller chercher, le plutôt qu'il me ſera poſſible, dans une terre étrangère, mais non ennemie, un officier public qui veuille recevoir le dépôt du préſent acte, que je termine par la déclaration ſolemnelle, que loin de vouloir abandonner ma patrie, où je laiſſe tout ce qui m'eſt cher pour garant de mon retour, je ſerai très-empreſſé d'y rentrer, auſſitôt que l'impunité des plus grands crimes n'y ſera plus regardée comme une des prérogatives de la liberté.

" ' Fait à Paris, le jour et an que deſſus : et copie du préſent, écrite et ſigné de ma main comme l'original, a été par moi remiſe, le

le dit jour, à mes deux frères, en attendant l'expédition en forme, que je leur enverrai inceſſamment.

(Signé) DE BERTRAND.'

"Preſſé de remplir un engagement auſſi ſacré, et déſirant d'ailleurs, depuis long-temps, de connoître une nation ſage, heureuſe, juſte, et vraiment libre, je ſuis parti pour l'Angleterre. Mon premier empreſſement, en y arrivant, a été de faire expédier, en forme authentique, par le notaire de la légation de France, ma rénonciation à la ſucceſſion de mon père, et de l'adreſſer à mes frères.

"Tels ſont les ſeuls motifs de mon départ. Il eſt aſſez évident en effet, que, ſi les inquiétudes les plus fondées ſur ma ſureté perſonnelle avoient été capables de me déterminer à ſortir du royaume, je n'aurois pas différé auſſi long-temps de profiter des mêmes moyens que je viens d'employer, et qui ont toujours été en mon pouvoir; car j'ai été inſtruit, dans le temps, de tous les mouvemens qu'on s'eſt donnés, des recherches

recherches ſans nombre qui ont été faites pour découvrir le lieu de ma retraite, et tâcher de me conſtituer priſonnier, ſoit à la Force, ſoit à Abbaye, ſoit à Orléans, avant l'époque à jamais exécrable du 2 Septembre.

" Quel peut donc être le motif d'un acharnement auſſi perſévérant ? C'eſt ce qu'il eſt difficile d'expliquer quand on conſidère que les perſécutions ſans ceſſe renaiſſantes que j'ai éprouvées pendant mon miniſtère, n'ont pu produire qu'un mémoire, dont toutes les preuves avoient pour baſe unique trois aſſertions, démontrées fauſſes par les pièces même du rapport, ainſi que je l'ai conſtaté dans mon compte (page 5 et ſuivantes); et ce mémoire, adreſſé au roi par l'aſſemblée nationale, avoit pour objet de prouver que je ne méritois pas la confiance de la nation, quoique cette propoſition eût été formellement rejettée, la veille, par un décret rendu après un appel nominal.

" S'il pouvoit reſter encore quelques doutes ſur mon irréprochabilité, j'oſe dire qu'ils ſeroient tous levés par le décret même d'accuſa-

d'accuſation, rendu le 16 Août dernier, contre les perſonnes qui occupoient le miniſtère le 11 Novembre précédent, et par conſéquent contre moi. Ce décret eſt fondé uniquement ſur quelques énonciations auſſi vagues qu'inſignifiantes, haſardées dans un bulletin anonyme, apocryphe, et d'une écriture inconnue, qu'on dit avoir été trouvé chez le roi, dans la journée du 10. Il faut être bien pur, et bien exempt du moindre tort réel, pour obtenir l'honneur d'être accuſé d'un délit imaginaire, ſur une pièce ſi évidemment indigne de foi ſous tous les rapports, que, devant le tribunal le plus rigoureux, elle n'auroit pas même la conſiſtance du plus léger indice.

" Je ne me diſſimule pas néanmoins, que, dans le moment terrible où les loix étoient ſans force, la juſtice ſans miniſtres, et l'innocence ſans appui, où le peuple, croyant voir par-tout des conſpirateurs, ou des traîtres, ne reſpiroit que vengeance, un décret d'accuſation, violemment provoqué par les clameurs des tribunes contre

pluſieurs

pluſieurs miniſtres, pouvoit être conſidéré comme un moyen d'appaiſer l'effervescence générale. Je conviens auſſi que les mêmes circonſtances s'oppoſoient également au ſuccès des réclamations que j'adreſſai au corps légiſlatif, contre ce décret, quatre jours après qu'il eut été rendu; mais aujourd'hui que le rétabliſſement de l'empire de la juſtice et des loix eſt ardemment déſiré par tous les citoyens; que le peuple, indigné des écarts dans leſquels il a été entraîné, attend et ſollicite la punition des ſcélérats qui ont abuſé de ſa confiance, au point de le rendre l'inſtrument de leur barbarie, de leurs vengeances perſonnelles, ou de leur cupidité; il n'eſt pas poſſible qu'un décret d'accuſation, déterminé, arraché par des circonſtances toutes contraires, ſoit maintenu, non-ſeulement parce que ce ſeroit conſacrer une injuſtice révoltante, mais parce que la dignité de la nation Françoiſe ne permet pas à ſes repréſentans d'intenter en ſon nom une accuſation capitale ſur des ſoupçons vagues et dénués de tout eſpèce de preuve. L'abus le plus

effrayant que les membres des assemblées nationales pourroient faire de leur non-responsabilité, seroit sans doute de se jouer impunément par des décrets d'accusation peu refléchis, de l'honneur et de la liberté des citoyens, on peut même dire, de leur vie, après les massacres sans nombre, dont le souvenir horrible souillera éternellement la mémoire des derniers momens de l'existence de la législature précédente. De quels regrets, de quels remords ne doivent pas être tourmentés ceux de ses membres qui, pour avoir trop légèrement provoqué des décrets d'accusation, ou concouru par leur suffrage à les faire passer, ont à se reprocher d'avoir dévoué à la mort la plus atroce, une infinité de victimes, dont quelques-unes étoient absolument innocentes, et dont le plus grand nombre n'auroit jamais pû être condamné à une peine capitale, d'après le titre même de l'accusation !

" Fermement convaincu que la convention nationale ne voudra pas s'exposer à de semblables regrets, j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser mes réclamations contre le

décret du 16 Août ; et je vous prie, Monſieur, de les mettre ſous les yeux de l'aſſemblée. J'oſe eſpérer qu'elle y aura égard ; et afin que mes ennemis ne puiſſent pas y mettre obſtacle en renouvellant les inculpations calomnieuſes qui ont ſervi de motif à toutes les vexations qu'ils m'ont fait éprouver, et particulièrement aux recherches auſſi violentes qu'infructueuſes, qui ont éte faites, non-ſeulement chez moi, mais chez mes parens, et chez mes voiſins, ſous prétexte de trouver des preuves de mes relations prétendues criminelles avec la cour, et de ma complicité dans les conſpirations, vraies ou fauſſes, dont on l'accuſe, je vous préviens, Monſieur, que j'adreſſerai inceſſamment à l'aſſemblée une déclaration authentique de tous les faits importans et ignorés, dont j'ai eu connoiſſance pendant et depuis mon miniſtère, et qui ont quelque rapport aux circonſtances préſentes. J'indiquerai les témoins, ou les preuves, de tous ceux que l'aſſemblée voudra approfondir. Je

dirai tout ce que je ſais; et ce que je dirai, pourra conduire à des découvertes très-intéreſſantes.

(Signé) DE BERTRAND."

Réclamation adreſſée à la convention nationale, par M. Bertrand de Moleville, *ci-devant miniſtre de la marine; contre le décret d'accuſation du* 16 *Août dernier, rendu contre les anciens miniſtres.*

"LE pouvoir d'accuſer ſans preuve quelconque, et celui de punir ſans jugement légal, ſont les attributs les plus révoltans du deſpotiſme; aucun de ces pouvoirs ne peut donc exiſter ſous un gouvernement libre, ſans une violation manifeſte des droits naturels et impreſcriptibles de l'homme, auxquels les repréſentans de la nation ſont dans l'heureuſe impuiſſance de porter la moindre atteinte.

"La loi doit être la même pour tous, ſoit qu'elle protège, ſoit qu'elle puniſſe (Déclaration des Droits, art. VI); et les mêmes délits

délits doivent être punis des mêmes peines, ſans aucune diſtinction de perſonnes. (Tit. 1^er^, art. 3.)

" La réclamation que je forme aujourd'hui eſt tellement fondée ſur ces baſes eſſentielles du droit naturel, qu'il n'eſt pas poſſible de la rejetter ſans les anéantir.

" Le 16 Août dernier, ſur la ſimple lecture d'une note prétendue trouvée dans la chambre du roi, et datée du 11 Novembre précédent, il a été rendu, ſans examen, ni diſcuſſion préalable ſur la forme de cette pièce, ni ſur ſes réſultats, un décret d'accuſation contre toutes les perſonnes qui compoſoient alors le miniſtère, et par conſéquent contre moi.

" Cette note eſt intitulée: 'Projet du Comité des miniſtres, concerté avec M. M. Alexandre Lameth et Barnave.'

" Je dois d'abord déclarer & affirmer, ſans craindre d'être démenti, 1°, Que je n'ai jamais connu MM. Lameth ni Barnave; j'ai vu ſeulement ce dernier une fois chez moi, dans les premiers jours de mon miniſtère, relativement aux affaires des

colonies, dont il avoit été rapporteur. Je ne l'ai pas revû depuis, et j'ignore ce qu'il eſt devenu.

" 2°, Que je n'ai eu aucune connoiſſance quelconque de la note dont il s'agit, ni de ſon contenu, et que, pendant mon miniſtère, il n'en a jamais été queſtion, ſoit au conſeil, ſoit dans aucun des comités de miniſtres auxquels j'ai aſſiſté.

" Cette affirmation ne ſeroit ſans doute d'aucun poids contre une preuve acquiſe; mais il eſt aſſez évident que je n'ai pas même ici le plus léger indice à combattre. Il faudroit en effet, pour que cette pièce pût être conſidérée comme un indice, qu'elle fût écrite de la main du roi, ou de celle d'un de ſes miniſtres; car ſi, pour être réputé criminel, il ſuffiſoit d'être nommé ou déſigné dans un écrit quelconque, trouvé dans l'appartement, ou dans le ſecrétaire du roi, quel eſt le citoyen honnête qui ne tremblerroit pas de ſe trouver compromis, en penſant que dans la matinée du 10 d'Août, cet appartement et ce ſecrétaire ont été ouverts à tous ceux qui ont voulu

voulu y entrer, et y fouiller, et auxquels il étoit auſſi facile d'y gliſſer des papiers, que d'en enlever ?

" Mais quand même la note dont il s'agit ſeroit écrite de la main du roi, ou d'un de ſes miniſtres, et que ce fait, dont les commiſſaires prépoſés à la levée des ſcellés n'ont pas parlé, ſeroit bien conſtaté, il reſteroit encore à examiner, ſi le projet prétendu concerté par les miniſtres avec MM. Barnave et Lameth, étoit véritablement contraire aux intérêts de l'état ; car un projet évidemment avantageux à la nation, ne ſeroit certainement pas un crime aux yeux de ſes repréſentans, par quelques perſonnes qu'il eût été concerté.

" Le 1er article de cette note, et ſans doute celui qui a fait l'impreſſion la plus grave, ne contient que ces mots :

" 1°, Refuſer la ſanction.

" Sur une énonciation auſſi vague et auſſi générale, je me bornerai à obſerver que la ſanction étant un droit eſſentiellement inhérent à la royauté, et dont le monarque étoit perſonnellement inveſti par la

conſtitution, non comme chef du pouvoir exécutif, mais en ſa qualité de repréſentant de la nation, je n'ai jamais vû, pendant mon miniſtère, l'exercice de ce droit ſoumis aux délibérations du conſeil ; le roi entendoit ſeulement, ſur les décrets de détail, les obſervations que pouvoit avoir à lui faire le miniſtre du département qu'ils concernoient, et il ſe décidoit, ſur les autres, d'après ſes lumières et ſa conſcience. Ces faits et ces principes, dont l'exactitude ne ſauroit être conteſtée, démontrent combien il ſeroit injuſte et inconſtitutionnel de prononcer ſur un refus de ſanction, un décret d'accuſation contre des miniſtres aux quels cet acte eſt abſolument étranger, et entièrement hors de leur reſponſabilité, ſoit qu'ils aient été conſultés ſur la ſanction, ſoit qu'ils ne l'aient pas été.

" Les quatre articles ſuivans énoncent différentes démarches, dont quelques-unes n'ont pas été faites.

" Le ſurplus de cette note aſſigne au miniſtre de la juſtice, à celui des affaires étrangères, à celui de la guerre, et à celui de l'intérieur, des rôles qu'aucun d'eux n'a

rempli ;

rempli; il n'y eſt fait aucune mention du miniſtre des impoſitions, ni de celui de la marine.

" Ainſi, quand même cette pièce ſeroit authentique, on n'y trouveroit pas le plus léger indice d'un projet quelconque, concerté avec eux. Voilà à quoi ſe réduit cet écrit, dont la ſeule lecture a fait prononcer, par acclamation, un décret d'accuſation contre tous les miniſtres qui étoient en place au mois de Novembre dernier. Il n'eſt pas étonnant, ſans doute, que dans des momens d'orage et d'irritation générale, l'annonce d'un complot, concerté entre les miniſtres, et des perſonnes ſignalées comme ſuſpectes, ait entraîné violemment toutes les opinions au parti le plus ſévère; mais autant ce mouvement a pû, ſous ce point de vue, paroître louable dans ſes motifs, autant il ſeroit oppreſſif dans ſes effets, s'il n'étoit pas dirigé et modéré par les principes d'une juſtice auſſi exacte que rigoureuſe. Heureuſement l'acte d'accuſation n'a pas été rédigé, et par conſéquent il eſt temps encore de ſoumettre à un examen froid et

refléchi

refléchi cette note apocryphe, deſtinée à ſervir de baſe à l'accuſation la plus conſidérable, qui pûiſſe être intentée par les repréſentans de la nation, puiſque ſon effet néceſſaire eſt d'entacher ſix miniſtres à la fois, du ſoupçon de haute trahiſon, et d'appeller ſur leurs têtes et ſur leurs propriétés, toute la fureur des vengeances populaires.

" En rapprochant la note dont il s'agit, des évenemens qui ſe ſont paſſés à l'époque indiquée par ſa date, il eſt aiſé de reconnoître qu'elle ne peut ſe rapporter qu'au meſſage du 12 Novembre, dont l'objet étoit effectivement d'annoncer le refus de ſanction d'un décret relatif aux émigrés, la proclamation qui fut publiée contre eux le même jour, et les réquiſitions adreſſées aux puiſſances pour empêcher leur raſſemblement; que par conſéquent ce bulletin rédigé d'après les conjectures et les propos publics, qui avoient précédé cet démarche, n'eſt et ne peut être autre choſe qu'une feuille de ces nouvelles à la main dont il exiſtoit alors pluſieurs rédacteurs, qui, quoique moins inſtruits que la plupart des jour-

journaliſtes, faiſoient payer leurs nouvelles beaucoup plus cher, parce qu'elles étoient manuſcrites.

" Après avoir ainſi démontré qu'un écrit auſſi indigne, à tous égards, de fixer l'attention du corps legiſlatif, peut encore moins ſervir de baſe à une accuſation capitale intentée en ſon nom, j'oſerai réclamer en ma faveur le bénéfice des formes ſagement établies, et conſtamment obſervées, juſqu'à ce jour, en matière de dénonciations. Il étoit ſans exemple, avant le 16 Août dernier, qu'un décret d'accuſation eût été rendu, même contre un miniſtre, ſans que les pièces produites, et les faits articulés contre l'accuſé, euſſent été examinés et vérifiés par un comité, auquel l'accuſé pouvoit adreſſer ſes pièces et moyens juſtificatifs: tout récemment encore, une inculpation, injuſte ſans doute, mais très-grave, et appuyée de pièces plus ou moins probantes, avoit été formée contre M. Servan; le corps légiſlatif ne balança pas à en renvoyer l'examen à un de ſes comités; et en attendant que le rapport qui devoit en être fait,

fait, l'eût complettement juſtifié des prévarications dont il étoit accuſé, l'aſſemblée s'interdiſit ſi ſcrupuleuſement toute opinion défavorable à M. Servan, qu'elle le rappella au miniſtère.

" Fondé ſur cet exemple, et ſur la déclaration des droits de l'homme, que le nouvel ordre de choſes n'a point anéanti, et dont l'article VI. porte, *Que la loi doit être la même pour tous, ſoit qu'elle protège, ou qu'elle puniſſe* ; je demande que le décret du 16 Août dernier ſoit rapporté ; qu'en conſequence, la note du 11 Novembre, trouvée dans les papiers du roi, ſoit renvoyée à un des comités de la convention nationale, pour être ſtatué, ſur ſon rapport, ainſi qu'il appartiendra.

" Si, ſur ce rapport, le décret d'accuſation eſt confirmé, exempt de crainte, comme de tout reproche, je m'empreſſerai d'y obéir avec la ſoumiſſion que tout bon citoyen doit à la loi, auſſi-tôt que ſon empire ſera parfaitement rétabli.

(Signé) DE BERTRAND."

No. II.

Extrait de la déclaration adreſſée à la convention nationale par le ci-devant tréſorier général de la liſte civile, le 9 Novembre 1792.

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" Il a éte dit dans pluſieurs journaux, et notamment dans le *Moniteur*, qu'on avoit trouvé chez le tréſorier général de la liſte civile, des reçus des deux frères du roi, ainſi que de MM. Bouillé et la Fayette, pour des ſommes conſidérables. Le tréſorier de la liſte civile a affirmé devant le Lord Maire de Londres, le 7 Septembre dernier, ' Que jamais il n'avoit été chargé, par le roi, de payer ni d'envoyer, et qu'il n'a jamais fait payer ni envoyé aucune ſomme aux deux frères du roi, ni à MM. La Fayette et Bouillé ; et qu'ainſi, ſi l'on prétendoit avoir trouvé, dans ſes papiers, aucuns reçus en ſon nom, ſoit des deux princes, ou deſdits ſieurs la Fayette et

Bouillé, leſdits reçus ne pourroient être regardés que comme pièces fauſſes et calomnieuſes.' Les ſeuls paiemens faits ſur la liſte civile, relatifs à M. le Comte d'Artois, ſont des rembourſemens de cautionnemens, donnés par le roi à d'anciens créanciers du prince; il a auſſi été donné quelques ſecours pour l'éducation des enfans de M. le Comte d'Artois à Turin. Ces faits ſont aiſés à éclaircir par les pièces de comptabilité.

"A l'égard d'un compte de M. de Bouillé, trouvé dans les papiers de la liſte civile, l'examen de ce compte prouvera aiſément que ce n'eſt pas un pièce de dépenſe pour le tréſorier. On lui a remis cet état, avec toutes les pièces qui l'accompagnent, au mois d'Octobre 1791, pour recevoir une ſomme de 19,000 liv. environ, qui lui a effectivement été apportée, et qu'il a remiſe au roi, ſuivant la mention faite en marge de ce compte. Le tréſorier de la liſte civile n'avoit jamais eu connoiſſance des paiemens faits à M. de Bouillé; mais il eſt facile de voir que cette affaire a précédé le voyage

de

de Varennes, et l'acceptation de la conſtitution.

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" Il a été dit que le roi entretenoit à Coblentz ſon ancienne maiſon militaire, et particulièrement les gardes du corps. Le roi leur avoit conſervé leur traitement, juſqu'à ce que, par le réſultat d'un plan général de réforme dont l'intendant de la liſte civile a dit au tréſorier qu'il s'occupoit, les penſions de retraite des anciens gardes du corps euſſent été réglées ; mais peu de tems après le décret qui a aſſujetti aux certificats de réſidence, l'intendant de la liſte civile a écrit au tréſorier, au commencement de Novembre 1791, que l'intention du roi étoit, qu'à l'avenir les traitemens conſervés à ſon ancienne maiſon militaire, ne fuſſent plus payés que ſur des certificats de réſidence dans le royaume, et particulièrement pour les anciens gardes du corps ; cette lettre lui annonçoit en même tems, qu'ils ne ſeroient plus payés en maſſe, mais individuellement, à la caiſſe de la liſte civille, en accompagnant la quittance de

chacun

chacun, de ſon certificat de réſidence. On doit trouver cette lettre chez le treſorier de la liſte civile ; il en a remis l'ampliation au chef du bureau de la tréſorerie, chargé des dépenſes de la maiſon militaire, avec la recommendation la plus expreſſe de ſe conformer aux intentions du roi ; les états nominatifs ordonnancés lui ont été remis à cet effet, pour acquitter les ſix derniers mois 1791. Il ſera aiſé de reconnoître par la ſomme conſidérable qui reſte à payer ſur ces états, que les ci-devant gardes du corps, émigrés, n'ont rien reçu.

" A l'égard des anciens gardes du corps, que l'on dit ſouvent avoir été entretenus à Coblentz, le tréſorier de la liſte civile ne peut que répéter ce qu'il a déjà dit dans ſa déclaration du 9 de ce mois ; c'eſt que le traitement, le ſecours que le roi avoit conſervé à ſes anciens gardes du corps, juſqu'au réglement de leur penſion de retraite, ne devoit leur être payé que ſur des certificats de réſidence en France : les ordres du roi étoient formels à cet égard ; l'intendant de la liſte civile les avoit fait connoître au tréſorier

le même ordre au chef de bureau de la tréſorerie, chargé des penſions militaires. Pour aſſurer l'exécution de cet ordre, les états ordonnancés, relatifs aux anciens gardes du corps, ne ſe payoient plus en maſſe; la même lettre de l'intendant de la liſte civile, du mois de Novembre 1791, qui a dû être trouvée chez le treſorier, et, par ampliation dans ſes bureaux, annonce que les ci-devant gardes du corps ne ſeront payés qu'individuellement, et ſur la repréſentation, de la part de chacun, de ſon certificat de réſidence. Enfin, le tréſorier de la liſte civile peut ajouter ici, comme il l'a déjà dit, dans ſa première déclaration, que plus de la moitié de la ſomme portée aux états ordonnancés des anciens gardes du corps, n'a, dans le fait, pas été payée; que, par conſéquent, les émigrés, ni même les non-réſidens en France, n'ont rien reçu.

(Signé) SEPTEUIL."

Le ci-devant tréſorier-général de la liſte civile a affirmé la vérité des faits contenus dans les réponſes ci-deſſus, ſous ſon ſerment,

prête entre les mains du chevalier Sanderſon, *Lord-Maire de la ville de Londres, le* 13 *Novembre* 1792, *dont il a été dreſſé acte par* Tobie Atkinſon, *notaire à Londres; ledit acte légaliſé le méme jour* 13 *Novembre, par* M. Chauvelin.

No. III.

Seconde Lettre de M. Bertrand de Moleville, *ci-devant Miniſtre de la Marine, au Préſident de la Convention Nationale de France.*

" Londres, le 16 Novembre, 1792.

" Monſieur le Preſident,

" J'AI eu l'honneur de vous annoncer par ma dernière lettre, que je vous adreſſerois inceſſament une déclaration exacte de tous les faits importants et ignorés dont j'ai connoiſſance et qui ont quelque rapport aux circonſtances préſentes. Je me hâte d'autant plus de remplir cet engagement, que j'apprends par les papiers publics que la diſcuſſion eſt déjà ouverte ſur la grande queſtion de ſavoir ſi Louis XVI. doit être jugé, et que la Convention Nationale eſt diſpoſée à accueillir favorablement les lumières et renſeignemens qui lui ſeront donnés ſur une affaire auſſi grave. Je me

flatte qu'elle ſera ſatisfaite de ceux que j'ai l'honneur de lui adreſſer, par ce que j'ai la conviction profonde qu'elle ne cherche que la vérité, qu'elle ne veut que la juſtice ; cette conviction ſeule ſuffit pour calmer les inquietudes des bons citoyens et pour ſoutenir les eſpérances de ceux qui ayant été a portée de voir de plus près la conduite de Louis XVI. et de connoître ſes vertus, ne peuvent pas s'empêcher de prendre un grand intérêt à ſes malheurs.

" Voici les faits dont j'atteſte la vérité et dont je puis rapporter ou indiquer les preuves.

Faveur et Secours prétendus accordés aux Emigrés.

" On a publié dans tous les journaux, dans tous les pamphlets, on a répété mille fois à la tribune, que le roi avoit conſtament approuvé et favorisé l'émigration. Cette opinion, à l'appui de la qu'elle on n'a cité que des faits calomnieuſement ſuppoſés ou alterés, eſt devenue l'opinion générale du royaume,

royaume, et le principal motif des adreſſes regicides qui ſe renouvellent chaque jour. Il eſt aiſé de démontrer par des faits prouvés l'injuſtice extrême de ce reproche.

" Vers la fin du mois d'Octobre 1791, un des miniſtres ayant inſtruit le roi en plein conſeil du bruit généralement répandu que les émigrés armés contre la France, et particulierement les gardes du corps, étoient payés par la liſte civile—' C'eſt une calomnie inſigne (répondit le roi ſur le ton le plus ferme); j'ai au contraire donné l'ordre les plus exprès à M. de la Porte de ne faire payer que ceux qui rapporteront les certificats exigés par le décret du mois de Juillet dernier, et je ſuis ſûr que cet ordre eſt exécuté: on m á propoſé d'en excepter les gardes du corps, mais je m'y ſuis refuſé.'

" Malgré cet ordre, dont l'exiſtence peut être atteſtée par pluſieurs deputés aux quels il a été ccommuniqué en original et qui d'ailleurs a du ſe trouver chez M. de Septeuil, on a continué à débiter que les gardes du corps émigrés étoient payés par la liſte

civile, et ce fait eſt avancé comme conſtant page 10 et 11 du rapport fait à l'aſſemblée dans la ſéance du 27 Septembre dernier : le rapporteur n'a pas fait attention que les ſeules pièces qu'il citoit à l'appui de ſon aſſertion en démontroient évidemment la fauſſeté : la première eſt un mémoire trouvé dans le ſecretaire du roi, par lequel M. de Poix propoſoit de faire payer le corps entier des gardes du corps juſqu'au 1 Janvier 1792 ; ſi le roi eut approuvé cette propoſition il auroit mis ſon *bon* au bas du mémoire et l'auroit renvoyé à l'intendant de la liſte civile, ainſi de cela ſeul que ce mémoire a été trouvé non apoſtillé dans le ſecretaire du roi, il en réſulte la preuve la plus complette que le roi n'y a eu aucun égard. Quant aux ordonnances de payement, ſignées par le roi, au bas des états généraux des quatre compagnies de ſes gardes, il ſuffit de rapprocher ces états du régiſtre des payemens pour ſe convaincre qu'on n'a réellement payé que les gardes du corps qui ont conſtaté leur réſidence dans la forme preſcrite par les décrêts,

décrêts, et que s'ils ont tous été compris dans les états ordonnances, c'eſt uniquement parce qu'on ignoroit quels étoient ceux qui étoient émigrés et ceux qui ne l'étoient pas. C'eſt par cette raiſon que dans les mêmes circonſtances les miniſtres de la guerre et de la marine ordonnançoient pareillement dans leur département, les états généraux des officiers de chaque corps ſans que la loi des certificats de réſidence fut violée, parceque ſon exécution étoit toujours garantie par la vigilance et par la reſponſabilité perſonelle des tréſoriers, conformément aux diſpoſitions de ce décret. Il eſt d'ailleurs conſtaté par une lettre de M. de Poix, rapportée page 16 du 13 ème recueil des piéces trouvées chez M. de la Porte, que l'exécution de ces ordonnances de payement étoit ſi fort retardée que le 28 Janvier dernier il n'y avoit eu rien de payé ſur le reſte de ſolde des ſix premiers mois 1791.

"Si je citois les lettres écrites par le roi dans les premiers jours d'Octobre 1791, aux officiers de l'armée, et à ceux du corps

de la marine, pour engager ceux qui étoient ſortis du royaume à y rentrer et pour y retenir ceux qui pouvoient avoir le projet d'émigrer, on me diroit ſans doute qu'on ne peut en rien conclurre parceque ces lettres étoient l'ouvrage des miniſtres; mais j'affirme que la minute de celle qui a été écrite aux officiers de la marine eſt reſtée deux jours entre les mains du roi qui y a fait pluſieurs corrections écrites de ſa main, les unes à la marge et les autres en interligne, et que cette minute a dû ſe trouver avec pluſieurs autres piéces importantes dans un portefeuille rouge dont les commiſſaires du comité de ſurveillance de la commune ont enlevé tous les papiers dans la deſcente, auſſi violente qu'irrégulière, qu'ils firent chez moi le 15 Août. Je dois préſumer que cette piéce a été ſouſtraite puiſqu'il n'en eſt fait aucune mention dans le rapport fait à l'aſſemblée le 6 de ce mois, elle ſeroit cependant d'autant plus importante à connoitre que ces corrections étant l'ouvrage du roi ſeul, on y trouveroit l'expreſſion franche et pure de ſes véritables

ſentimens;

ſentimens ; je ne doute pas que la Convention Nationale ne ſente la neceſſité indiſpenſable de ſe la faire repréſenter.

" Le roi m'avoit expreſſément recommandé d'employer en ſon nom tous les moyens de perſuaſion et d'autorité pour empêcher l'émigration des officiers de la marine, et ſi l'exécution de cet ordre n'eut pas tout le ſuccès que j'aurois deſiré, j'y employai dumoins tout le zèle qui pouvoit dépendre de moi, je ne crains pas d'invoquer ſur ce point le témoignage des chefs du bureau des officiers de ce département, je ne puis pas citer beaucoup de preuves écrites, mais je vais en rapporter une d'un aſſez grand poids pour me diſpenſer d'en chercher d'autres.

" Un officier ſupérieur, du mérite le plus diſtingué, ayant éte forcé par les outrages les plus violens et les plus multipliés à ſe démettre de ſon commandement, ſe rendit à Paris dans le courant de fevrier dernier avec le projet de ſortir du royaume. Après avoir vainement eſſayé de l'en détourner par mes conſeils et par mes exhortations,

j'en rendis compte au roi, qui m'autoriſa à lui adreſſer un ordre conçu à peu de choſe près dans le même ſtile que les anciennes lettres de cachet, en voici les termes.

" 'Mons.... Etant informé que vos lumières et vôtre expérience vous mettent en état de donner des inſtructions importantes ſur le ſervice de la marine, mon intention eſt que vous vous teniez à portée de fournir au miniſtre de ce département les renſeignemens qu'il aura à vous demander; en conſéquence, je vous défends de ſortir de Paris juſqu'à nouvel ordre, ſous peine de déſobéiſſance.

'*Signé*, LOUIS.

'Et plus bas,

'DE BERTRAND.'

" La minute de cet ordre qui fut adreſſé à M. de Marigni doit ſe trouver au bureau des officiers dans les minutes du mois de Février, ſi par hazard elle en avoit été ſouſtraite, M. de Marigni qui n'eſt pas ſorti de Paris en repréſentera l'original.

" Je

" Je dois affirmer ici que parmi les officiers que j'avois engagés à reſter à Paris pour être plus aſſuré qu'ils ne ſortiroient pas du royaume, il y en avoit qui étoient hors d'etat de s'y ſoutenir, et aux quels le roi a fait remettre, tantôt par M. de la Porte, tantôt par moi, differentes ſommes d'argent; la dernière que j'ai touchée pour cette deſtination étoit de 12,000 livres; elle me fut remiſe par le roi lui même dans les premiers jours de Mars, j'indiquerai dans qu'elles mains elle eſt paſſée, ſi la Convention Nationale deſire approfondir ce fait.

" Comment eſt il poſſible de concilier les reproches qu'on oſe faire au roi relativement aux émigres, avec tous ces faits dont aucun ne peut être conteſté."

Des trahiſons et conſpirations aux quelles on prétend que le Roi a participé.

" On ne donnera pas ſans doute cette qualification odieuſe aux meſures toujours foibles, toujours inſuffiſantes priſes pour la ſûreté perſonelle du roi, et dont il n'a ja-

mais manqué d'arrêter l'effet auſſitot qu'il a vû une partie du peuple accompagner les aſſaſſins reconnus qui vouloient attenter à ſes jours, il croyoit fermement qu'entouré du peuple, aucun danger n'étoit à craindre pour lui. On la vû dans la journée du 20 Juin éloigner de ſa perſonne des ſerviteurs fideles prêts à verſer juſqu'à la dernière goute de leur ſang pour ſa défenſe, et aller accompagné de quatre gardes nationaux au devant de la multitude armée qui venoit de forcer les portes de chateau.

" Il n'eſt plus permis de douter aujourd'hui, qu'il n'y eut une conſpiration formidable formée contre la cour: les députés Louvet et Barbaroux ont avoué, ont atteſté ce fait important à la tribune dans la ſéance du 30 Octobre.—' C'eſt a Charenton (ont ils dit) que fut arrêtée la conſpiration contre la cour, qui devoit s'exécuter le 29 Juillet, et qui n'eut lieu que le 10 Août (*Moniteur du 1 Novembre, page 1298. col. 3.*),' le roi qui en étoit informé avoit ſans doute pris quelques précautions pour garantir le chateau de l'attaque à laqu'elle

qu'elle il s'attendoit, mais auſſitôt qu'il fut inſtruit par les membres du directoire du département, que des milliers de citoyens et de gardes nationales étoient réunis aux conſpirateurs qui entouroient le chateau, il ne balança pas à ſe rendre avec ſa famille à l'aſſemblée nationale et à faire donner aux Suiſſes la défenſe de tirer *. Il eſt conſtant en

* " Lorſque le roi fut décidé à ſe rendre à l'aſſemblée, il dit aux miniſtres et aux autres perſonnes qui l'entouroient, ces paroles mémorables et trop ignorées *Allons, Meſſieurs, il n'y a plus rien à faire ici.* C'étoit certainement donner l'ordre le plus clair et le plus poſitif de ne pas reſter au chateau, puiſqu'il n'y avoit plus rien à faire, et ſi cet ordre eut été tranſmis officielement, comme il auroit du l'être, aux officiers des Suiſſes, de la garde nationale, et autres, ils ſe fuſſent tous retirés, l'entrée du chateau fut reſtée libre, il eut peut être été boulverſé, mais il n'y auroit pas eu un coup de fuſil de tiré. Malheureuſement cet ordre ne fut point tranſmis et ne fut exécuté que par les perſonnes qui l'avoient entendu et qui accompagnèrent le Roi à l'Aſſemblée. Il en eſt réſulté d'un coté que les Suiſſes, les gardes nationales et toutes les perſonnes qui s'étoient rendues au chateau pour la défenſe du roi, ont crû qu'il n'avoit penſé qu'à ſa propre ſureté et ſe ſont plaints qu'il les eut ainſi abandonnés tandis que d'un autre côté, le peuple a crû que le Roi avoit ordonné en partant la réſiſtance et les décharges qu'il avoit eſſuyées, et de là les ſoupçons et les clameurs contre la prétendue trahiſon du roi et contre les conſpirations de la cour. Ces détails m'ont été

en effet que les portes de la cour royale furent forcées ſans aucune reſiſtance de la part des Suiſſes, dont la première décharge n'eut lieu qu'après que cinq de leurs factionnaires eurent été maſſacrés au pied du grand eſcalier, ainſi les évenemens de la journée du 10 Août ne peuvent pas plus que ceux de la journée du 20 Juin, fournir matière au plus leger ſoupçon de trahiſons ou de conſpirations aux qu'elles le Roi ait pris la moindre part, c'eſt donc de ſa conduite antérieure et ſur tout des faits qui lui ſont perſonels qu'il eſt important d'acquerir des preuves, car on ne peut tirer aucune induction des lettres, mémoires, ou projets plus ou moins inſenſés qui ont pû lui être adreſſés, et qui ſe ſont trouvés, ſoit au chateau, ſoit chèz M. de la Porte, on ſent bien en effet, que ſi des écrits coupables, pouvoient compromettre les perſonnes aux qu'elles on les adreſſe, les mauvais citoyens

été atteſtés par un trop grand nombre de témoins oculaires pour que je puiſſe les révoquer en doute : ils prouvent évidemment que les reproches faits au Roi ne ſont pas mieux fondés d'un coté que de l'autre.

pourroient

pourroient ſouvent abuſer d'un moyen auſſi facile et auſſi ſûr pour perdre les meilleurs patriotes.

"A l'égard des nombreux écrits dont l'impreſſion a été payée par la liſte civile, et qu'on cite comme autant de preuves de trahiſon, il ſuffit d'obſerver qu'avant l'abolition de la royauté, les écrits anti-républicains étoient d'autant moins répréhenſibles que dans la ſéance mémorable du 7 Juillet dernier, l'aſſemblée avoit décreté unanimement et par acclamation, que ceux qui propoſeroient le gouvernement républicain ou l'établiſſement de deux chambres, ſeroient voués à l'exécration publique, les écrivains exagérés des deux partis, s'eloignoient également de l'eſprit et des principes de la conſtitution, leurs productions incendiaires, prolongeoient, entretenoient le mécontentement et l'agitation du people. Les inconveniens graves qui pouvoient en réſulter ont dû fixer l'attention du roi; obligé par ſon ſerment de maintenir la conſtitution par tous les moyens qui étoient en ſon pouvoir, il a pû et dû conſidérer comme un de ces moyens,

moyens, celui d'éclairer le peuple par des écrits ſages et conſtitutionels qui ſerviſſent de contre poiſon aux pamphlets dangereux d'ont il étoit inondé chaque jour ; ce qu'il y a de certain, c'eſt que pendant mon miniſtère mes collégues ont, ainſi que moi, regardé comme un devoir de donner ce conſeil au roi et que nous le lui avons donné pluſieurs fois. Ainſi il eſt très poſſible que cet ordre ait été donné à l'intendant de la liſte civile ; quant à la manière dont il a été exécuté, on ſent bien que le roi n'a pas pû en ſuivre les détails, d'ailleurs il eſt de principe que l'exécution la plus repréhenſible d'un ordre légitime ne peut jamais compromettre celui qui à donné l'ordre, mais ſeulement celui qui la exécuté ; or il eſt évident que l'ordre de faire répandre des écrits ſages et conſtitutionels étoit un ordre légitime. Le roi a donc pû le donner et certainement il n'en a pas donné d'autre. Mais voici des faits qui lui ſont perſonels et d'après leſquels on peut juger de ſes véritables ſentimens.

PREMIER

PREMIER FAIT.

" J'avois montré la répugnance la plus forte à accepter le miniſtère, et je n'avois pas diſſimulé que le principal motif de cette répugnance étoit mon incertitude ſur les véritables diſpoſitions du roi relativement à la conſtitution. Il en fut inſtruit et lorſque je lui fus preſenté le 3 Octobre, par le miniſtre de l'intérieur il m'adreſſa en ſa préſence ces propres paroles.

" ' Je ſais vos inquiétudes, je ne les blâme pas, il eſt tout ſimple que vous deſiriés de ſavoir à quoi vous en tenir, j'ai accepté la conſtitution, je ne dis pas que je la croye bonne dans tous ſes points, je ſuis même convaincu que ſi l'aſſemblée ne ſe fut pas interdit la faculté de recevoir les obſervations que je pourrois avoir à faire, elle auroit adopté les principaux changemens que j'aurois eu à propoſer, mais nous n'en ſommes plus là ; la conſtitution eſt acceptée telle qu'elle eſt, elle a en ſa faveur l'opinion générale, ainſi on ne peut plus penſer à des changemens que lorſque l'expérience

en aura fait ſentir la néceſſité, car la force ne peut rien ſur l'opinion, le ſuccès de cette expérience dépend de la fidélité avec laquelle la conſtitution ſera exécutée, et mon intention eſt qu'elle le ſoit autant et auſſi bien qu'il ſera poſſible, voila la ligne que je me ſuis tracée et dont j'exige que mes miniſtres ne s'écartent pas, ſi les moyens d'exécution qui ſont en leur pouvoir ſe trouvent inſuffiſans ou qu'ils éprouvent quelques embarras, c'eſt à l'aſſemblée qu'ils doivent s'adreſſer.'

" La reine, à qui je fus preſenté le même jour me répeta la même choſe et finit par me dire, 'Voila le plan que le roi a adopté, je crois que c'eſt le ſeul raiſonable, et j'eſpère que vous ne l'en ferez pas changer.'

" J'affirme ce fait en mon ame et conſcience, et j'appuye cette affirmation par mon ſerment que j'offre de renouveller par devant qui et en telle forme que l'aſſemblée jugera apropos de preſcrire. Au ſurplus ; en rentrant chez moi je n'eus rien de plus preſſé, que de prendre note de ce que le roi venoit

de

de me dire; cette note, datée du 3 Octobre, étoit dans le même portefeuille rouge, dont les commiſſaires du comité de ſurveillance de la commune ont enlevé tous les papiers; ſi la convention nationale juge àpropos d'en prendre connoiſſance, il lui ſera aiſé de ſe la faire repréſenter."

SECOND FAIT.

" Vers la fin de Décembre dernier, ou dans les premiers jours de Janvier, un ancien militaire retiré du ſervice* vint me conſulter à l'hotel de la marine, ſur une propoſition qui lui avoit été faite la veille, d'entrer dans une coalition de gentils-hommes pour eſcorter le roi qui devoit (lui avoit on dit) ſortir bientôt du royaume. Celui qui lui avoit fait cette propoſition s'étoit préſenté chez lui ſous le titre de maréchal de camp, et lui avoit donné 24 heures pour faire ſes réflexions; je donnai à la perſonne qui me conſultoit l'avis de ſe montrer diſpoſée à entrer dans cette coalition, pourvû qu'auparavant on lui fit connoître

* Le Chevalier de Lafont.

ſon organiſation, ſes projets, ſes moyens, et les perſonnes dont elle étoit compoſée, je lui recommandai expreſſément de ne rien oublier de ce qu'on lui diroit et particulièrement de s'aſſurer du nom et de la demeure de ce maréchal de camp ; il me promit de ne pas tarder à venir m'inſtruire du réſultat de ſa ſeconde converſation avec lui. Il revint en effet le lendemain et me rendit le compte le plus détaillé de ce qui s'étoit paſſé : j'en pris une note exacte que je lus le ſoir même au conſeil, le roi en fut indigné et ordonna au miniſtre de l'interieur d'en faire ſur le champ la dénonciation au directoire du département et de lui recommander de faire toutes les recherches poſſibles pour découvrir ce prétendu maréchal de camp, de le faire veiller de très près et de s'aſſurer de ſa perſonne s'il y avoit lieu ; comme cette lettre fut écrite au même inſtant par M. Cahier de Gerville, et envoyée immédiatement après le conſeil, il eſt poſſible qu'il n'en ait pas gardé de minute, mais l'original ſe trouvera aiſément dans le dépôt du directoire du département. Les re-

cherches ordonnées par le roi furent faites avec ſoin, on étoit parvenu à découvrir le domicile de cet homme, mais il ſe cachoit depuis pluſieurs jours de manière qu'il n'avoit pas été poſſible de le ſurprendre, il paroiſſoit au ſurplus par les notes qu'on s'étoit procurées ſur ſon compte à la police, que cet homme étoit non ſeulement un mauvais ſujet mais une très mauvaiſe tête. Quoiqu'il en ſoit, la conduite du roi dans cette affaire prouve au moins, qu'il ne favoriſoit pas les coalitions prétendues formées pour ſa ſûreté."

TROISIEME FAIT.

" Dans le mois de Janvier dernier, M. Cahier de Gerville, faiſant lecture au conſeil d'un projet de proclamation, le roi l'arrêta à une phraſe où ſe trouvoient ces mots, *l'amour de mon peuple*, et lui dit de les corriger par ceux ci, *l'amour du peuple Français ; je ne puis plus*, (ajouta-t'il, d'une voix émue et les yeux gonflés de larmes,) *je ne puis plus dire* MON PEUPLE, *mais on a beau*

faire ce ſera toujours l'expreſſion de mon cœur. Ce fait intéreſſant peut être atteſté par les miniſtres qui compoſoient alors le conſeil, et j'adjure tous ceux qui les y ont précedés, ou ſuivis, de déclarer s'ils n'ont pas reconnu dans pluſieurs circonſtances, qu'un des ſentimens les plus dominants chez le roi étoit l'attachement le plus profond, le plus tendre, et le plus touchant pour le peuple Français. On n'a pas oublié que le jour même de ſon arrivée de Varennes, l'un des premiers officiers de ſa maiſon lui témoignant ſes regrets ſur le mauvais ſuccès de cette démarche et particulièrement ſur l'augmentation de crédit et de puiſſance qui en réſultoit pour l'aſſemblée ; il fit ſur le champ cette réponſe remarquable, *tant mieux, mille fois tant mieux, pourvû qu'elle s'en ſerve pour le bonheur du peuple.*

QUARTIEME FAIT.

" Dans la ſéance du 6 de ce mois, le rapporteur Valazé a fait lecture d'une note trouvée chez moi ſur un nouvel ordre de Chevalerie

Chevalerie de la Reine, et pour donner plus d'importance à cette pièce qui a excité, avec grande raiſon, une riſée générale dans l'aſſemblée, il a dit qu'elle avoit été trouvée dans mon portefeuille. Le rapporteur Valazé s'eſt trompé, et ſi l'aſſemblée veut bien ſe faire repreſenter le procès verbal de la levée des ſcellés qui avoient été mis chez moi, elle y verra que ce n'eſt dans aucun de mes portefeuilles que cette pièce a été trouvée, mais puiſqu'il faut le dire, dans le ſceau de fayance qui étoit dans ma garderobe; il eut été difficile d'en faire uſage ſi on ne l'eut pas ſéparée d'un billet d'envoi qui étoit dans le même ſceau; ce billet daté des premiers jours de Septembre ou d'Octobre 1790, étoit à peuprès conçu en ces termes, 'Je vous envoye la note dont je vous ai parlé avant hier, je vous previens que je la tiens d'une perſonne dont la tête eſt exaltée, ainſi vous en croirés ce que vous voudrés.' Le lieu ou elle a été trouvée, prouve que j'en avois porté le même jugement que la convention nationale.

" Les membres du comité de ſurveillance de la commune qui firent l'examen de tous les papiers contenus dans ce ſceau, et qui y employerent près de neuf heures, ſuivant le rapport de la perſonne qui y aſſiſtoit pour moi, y trouvèrent auſſi une liſte du comité Autrichien compoſée d'environ trente noms tous fabriqués, et ils s'empreſſerent de ſaiſir cette pièce qu'ils regarderent d'abord comme une découverte très importante, heureuſement la clef de ces noms ſe trouvoit écrite en ſeconde colonne ſur la même page, et on y liſoit ceux de MM. Syées, Condorcet, Briſſot, Robeſpierre, &c. &c. mais ſi la clef eut été écrite ſur une feuille différente et qu'on eut pû la ſéparer de la liſte auſſi aiſément qu'on a ſéparé la note ſur l'ordre de Chevalerie de la Reine, du billet d'envoi, on auroit pû alors employer cette liſte comme une grande preuve de l'exiſtence du comité Autrichien.

" Tels ſont les faits que j'ai crû devoir faire connoître à l'aſſemblée et dont l'exactitude ſera conſtatée par les preuves que je cite, et qu'elle pourra faire vérifier,

rifier, ou par les temoins que j'indique et qui pourront être entendus. J'en aurois eu un bien plus grand nombre à preſenter ſi les cataſtrophes du mois de Septembre n'avoient pas mis en fuite ou fait périr les perſonnes qui auroient pû en atteſter la vérité, ou en rapporter des preuves écrites.

(Signé) DE BERTRAND."

No. IV.

"M. François Claude Amour de Bouillé, ci-devant général de l'armée ſur la Meuſe et la Moſelle, dite l'armée du centre, actuellement en cette ville de Londres, fait ſerment et dépoſe, que dans les premiers jours de Mai de l'année 1790, commandant alors dans la province des Evêchés, ayant envoyé ſa démiſſion au miniſtre de la Guerre afin de quitter le ſervice et la France, et s'étant réfuſé de prêter juſqu'alors le ſerment exigé par l'aſſemblée nationale, des officiers généraux de l'armée, le roi lui écrivit de ſa main, pour l'engager à continuer ſes ſervices, à prêter ſon ſerment, et à reconnoître la nouvelle conſtitution Françaiſe; que ce que ſa majeſté dit de plus dans ſa ditte lettre audit ſieur dépoſant, devoit contribuer au bonheur du peuple, et donner audit ſieur dépoſant les moyens de ſervir la patrie utilement, laquelle lettre eſt actuellement

ellement avec ſes papiers en Hollande, où il les a dépoſés pendant ſon voyage en cette ditte ville ; et le dépoſant déclare en outre qu'il à répondû à la dite lettre du roi, en l'aſſurant qu'il obéiroit à ſes ordres ; qu'il prêteroit le ſerment ainſi qu'il le déſiroit, mais qu'il faiſoit le plus grand ſacrifice qu'un homme pût faire, celui de ſes principes et de ſes opinions.

" Plus le dit ſieur dépoſant déclare et affirme, qu'après l'arreſtation du roi à Varennes, étant lui même ſorti du royaume de France, et étant dépoſitaire d'une ſomme de ſix cens mille livres, partie de celle de neuf cens quatre vingt treize mille francs, que le roi lui avoit fuit remettre à l'occaſion de ſon départ de Paris le vingt deux Juin 1791, ne pouvant avoir aucune communication avec le roi, il crut devoir remettre cet argent à Monſieur ; mais que depuis le roi ayant fait demander compte audit ſieur dépoſant des ſommes qu'il lui avoit confiées et notamment de l'emploi des dites ſix cens mille livres, il lui fit témoigner ſon mécontement de ce qu'il avoit diſpoſé de

cette

cette ſomme en faveur des princes ſes frères, ſon intention étant au contraire qu'elle lui fut remiſe, ee qui eſt conſtaté par une lettre qu'il a chargé M. de Choiſeuil, de lui écrire laquelle lettre eſt également en Hollande. Et le dit dépoſant déclare encore, que ce n'eſt point le roi qui a fait donner à M. Hamilton, ci-devant colonel du régiment de Naſſau, une ſomme de cent mille livres, mais que c'eſt lui dépoſant, qui la lui avoit remiſe en dépôt lors de l'évaſion du roi, de Paris, et qu'elle faiſoit partie de la dite ſomme de neuf cens quatre vingt treize mille francs, ce qui eſt conſtaté par quittance. Enfin le dit ſieur dépoſant dit qu'il a deſſein de retourner en peu de jour en Hollande, où ſont les dites pièces ſur les qu'elles cette déclaration eſt appuyée, et qu'il les préſentera ſi l'on le juge neceſſaire.

" Juré à la maiſon de Mairie de Londres le 27 Décembre 1792, devant moi,

(Signé)

JAMES SANDERSON, Mayor."

No. V.

" Paris, 31 Decembre 1792.

" VOICI, monſieur, le compte que je dois vous rendre au ſujet de la lettre que vous m'avez écrite. Vous verrez que j'y parle de vous à la tierce perſonne, parceque ne ſachant pas où vous demeurez à Londres, j'avais chargé un Français qui y eſt, et qui m'a envoyé ſon adreſſe, de vous faire cette réponſe de ma part.

" Je craignais que cette lettre qui a été miſe le matin à la poſte ne fut interceptée. Mais on vient de m'indiquer quelqu'un qui part tout à l'heure pour Calais, et qui vous la fera tenir plus ſurement. Ceci eſt donc un duplicata : et je n'ai que le tems de faire copier la lettre telle qu'elle a été écrite.

" Vous connoiſſez, monſieur, l'attachement plus ſincère que jamais, avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être votre très humble et très obéiſſant ſerviteur,

MALESHERBES.

" Le

"Le miniſtre de la juſtice a reçu un paquet de M. Bertrand, pour être remis à Louis XVI., et contenant des pièces pour ſa juſtification. Le miniſtre, n'ayant point de communication avec le priſonnier, a envoyé ce paquet à la convention nationale.

"Le même miniſtre a reçu depuis une lettre du même M. Bertrand, adreſſée à moi: et il y avait ſur l'adreſſe, *Pièces pour la juſtification de Louis XVI.* Ces mots ont fait penſer au miniſtre qu'il était auſſi obligé de renvoyer ce paquet devant la convention nationale: c'eſt ce que ce miniſtre m'a dit quand j'ai été le réclamer.

"J'ai vû que ces deux paquets avoient été renvoyés, par la convention, à un comité. J'ai été à ce comité, pour réclamer, au nom de celui dont je ſuis le défenſeur, le paquet qui eſt pour lui, et en mon nom, celui qui eſt pour moi. J'ai vû que les paquets avaient été ouverts: il y avait des pièces imprimées: et dans un des paquets, qui n'eſt pas le mien, des pièces manuſcrites qu'on ne m'a pas laiſſé lire, et qu'on m'a dit être des actes.

" On m'a remis ſans difficulté, les imprimés que j'avois déjà. Pour les manuſcrits, on n'a pas voulû me les remettre, ans avoir un ordre de la convention nationale.

" Quelqu'un du comité a été à la convention, les pièces à la main, pour demander l'ordre. Il eſt revenu, et m'a dit, que ſur ſa demande, on a paſſé à l'ordre du jour. Mais il n'a point rapporté les pièces, et m'a dit qu'il les avoit laiſſées ſur le bureau. Il ne m'a pas paru qu'il ait fait conſtater que ces pièces qui étaient dans le dépôt du comité en fûſſent ſorties. J'ai demandé à ces Meſſieurs comment je pourrais me pourvoir pour avoir ces pièces : tout le monde s'eſt regardé, et perſonne ne m'a rien répondû.

" Voila où nous en ſommes. Je n'ai pas crû devoir inſiſter ſur cet objet auprès de la convention, pendant qu'elle eſt occupée à délibérer ſur le jugement de Louis."

No. VI.

Denonciation de prévarications commiſes dans le procès de Louis XVI., adreſsée à la Convention Nationale, par M. Bertrand de Moleville, *miniſtre d'état de France.*

" Monſieur le Préſident,

" Je dénonce à la convention nationale, au peuple Français, à l'Europe entiere, des prévarications inſignes qui viennent de ſe commettre dans le procès de Louis XVI., et dont je vais adminiſtrer les preuves, afin qu'il puiſſe être fait juſtice des coupables.

" Dans le courant du mois dernier, j'envoyai au Garde du Sceau, des pièces utiles à la défenſe de Louis XVI., avec réquiſition formelle de les lui faire remettre, j'avois penſé que la voye la plus ſûre pour les faire parvenir à une deſtination auſſi ſacrée, étoit de les adreſſer au miniſtre de la juſtice ; je lui écrivis donc la lettre ſuivante :

" ' Le

" 'Le devoir le plus ſacré des miniſtres de la juſtice, Monſieur, étant de maintenir l'exécution de toutes les loix qui aſſurent aux accuſés, les moyens de manifeſter leur innocence, et le plus important de ces moyens étant la communication des pièces et mémoires qui peuvent être utiles à leur défenſe; c'eſt à vous, monſieur, que j'adreſſe ma réquiſition formelle de faire remettre a Louis XVI. les pièces ci jointes; il ſuffit pour que j'y ſois, non ſeulement autoriſé, mais obligé, qu'en qualité d'ancien miniſtre du roi, je puiſſe lui indiquer pour le tems de mon miniſtère, les faits et les preuves qui anéantiſſent les principaux chefs d'accuſation dirigés contre lui. Tel eſt mon titre, et tel eſt l'objet de ma demande: vous ſentirez, monſieur, qu'il eſt impoſſible de la rejetter, ſans ſe déclarer complice de l'attentat le plus exécrable dont il y ait jamais eu d'exemple.'

" Peu de jours après, j'envoyai ſous le couvert de ce même miniſtre, un paquet adreſſé à M. de Maleſherbes, et éti-

quetté *pièces pour la juſtification de Louis XVI.*; j'écrivis en même tems à M. de Maleſherbes, pour le prévenir de ces deux envois, et le prier de les faire retirer; j'apprends aujourd'hui qu'il a été les réclamer lui même, et que le miniſtre de la juſtice lui a répondu 'que n'ayant point de communication avec le priſonnier, il avoit envoyé le premier paquet qui lui étoit adreſſé à la convention nationale, et que le ſecond paquet quoique adreſſé à M. de Maleſherbes, étant étiquetté, *pièces pour la juſtification de Louis XVI.*, ces mots lui avoient fait penſer qu'il étoit obligé de ſuivre pour ce ſecond paquet, la même marche que pour le premier.'

" Je m'arrête d'abord à ces deux premiers faits, et j'obſerve que la conduite du miniſtre de la juſtice dans le renvoi par lui fait à la convention nationale des pièces adreſſées à Louis XVI. rapelle celle des concierges et Guichetiers des priſons de l'ancien régime, et l'exactitude barbare avec laquelle ils renvoyoient au magiſtrat commiſſaire

miſſaire des priſons, toutes les pièces, et mémoires adreſſés aux accuſés; mais alors on avoit aumoins un moyen aſſuré de les leur faire parvenir; il ſuffiſoit de les adreſſer directement, ſoit au magiſtrat commiſſaire des priſons, ſoit au chef de la juſtice: néanmoins l'aſſemblée conſtituante juſtement indignée de la lenteur de cette voye, et de l'inhumanité de ces précautions, en a formellement proſcrit l'uſage par le nouveau code criminel; elle a décrêté non ſeulement que les accuſés recevroient librement toutes les pièces, et mémoires qui pourroient ſervir à leur défenſe, mais encore qu'il leur ſeroit délivré dans les 24 heures de la demande faite par eux ou par leur défenſeur, copie de toutes les pièces à leur charge, ainſi que de la procédure; et lorſque pour être plus aſſuré de l'exécution de cette loi, je m'adreſſe au miniſtre ſpécialement chargé de la maintenir, il ne balance pas à l'enfreindre ſous prétexte qu'il n'a point de communication avec l'accuſé! mais toutes les loix qui le protègent, pourroient donc également être violées par ſes

juges eux mêmes, ſi ce prétexte atroce étoit admiſſible, car il n'y a pas un d'eux qui ne puiſſe dire auſſi : qu'il n'a aucune communication avec l'accuſé !

" Quant à la ſouſtraction du paquet adreſſé à M. de Maleſherbes, la conduite du miniſtre de la juſtice eſt encore plus coupable. Quoi, parceque l'étiquette de ce paquet annonce qu'il contient des pièces pour la juſtification de Louis XVI. le miniſtre de la juſtice a pu croire qu'il étoit de ſon devoir de ne pas le renvoyer au defenſeur de Louis XVI. auquel il étoit adreſſé ! Quoi, c'eſt ſur cette étiquette, que j'avois regardée comme une ſauvegarde inviolable, et comme le moyen de plus ſûr de faire parvenir ce paquet à ſa deſtination ſans le moindre retard, que le miniſtre de la juſtice s'eſt determiné, non ſeulement à le ſouſtraire, mais à le faire renvoyer au même comité qui a dirigé l'acte d'accuſation contre Louis XVI. ! ah ! s'il pouvoit jamais exiſter un département d'aſſaſſinats judiciaires, qu'elle autre conduite pourroit donc être plus digne du miniſtre de ce département, et que

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pourroit-il faire de plus fort que de priver un accuſé des pièces néceſſaires à ſa défenſe, et de les remettre entre les mains de ſes accuſateurs ?

" Je ſoumets ces conſidérations à la juſtice de la convention nationale, et je reprends la ſuite des faits :

" ' M. de Maleſherbes s'eſt tranſporté au comité pour y réclamer les paquets adreſſés à Louis XVI. et à ſes défenſeurs ; il a vû qu'ils avoient été ouverts, qu'il y avoit des pièces imprimées, et dans un des paquets des pièces manuſcrites qu'on ne lui a pas laiſſé lire, et qu'on lui a dit être des actes ; on lui a remis les imprimés, mais on n'a pas voulu lui remettre les manuſcrits, ſans avoir un ordre de la convention nationale. Un membre du comité a été à la convention les pièces à la main pour demander l'ordre ; il eſt revenu et a dit à M. de Maleſherbes qu'on avoit paſſé à l'ordre du jour ſur ſa demande, mais il n'a point rapporté les pièces, il a dit les avoir laiſſées ſur le bureau, et il n'a pas parû à M. de Maleſherbes qu'il ait été conſtaté par aucun acte,

que ces pièces qui étoient dans le dépôt du comité en étoient ſorties, il a demandé comment il pourroit ſe pourvoir pour avoir ces pièces ; tout le monde s'eſt regardé, et perſonne ne lui a répondu.'

" On ne peut imputer qu'à un commis, ou à un ſécretaire ce refus incroyable fait à M. de Maleſherbes de lui laiſſer ſeulement prendre lecture des actes manuſcrits contenus dans l'un de ces paquets ; aucun membre du comité n'auroit voulu ſans doute ſe rendre coupable d'une prévarication, que le greffier d'un tribunal quelconque ne pourroit pas commettre ſans encourir la deſtitution prononcée par la loi. Je ſuis également convaincu, que l'aſſemblée n'a paſſé à l'ordre du jour ſur la demande de M. de Maleſherbes, que parcequ'elle ne l'a pas bien entendue, ou qu'elle ne lui a pas été aſſez clairement préſentée: il en eſt réſulté cependant que la cauſe de Louis XVI. a été plaidée ſans que ſon défenſeur ait eu la moindre connoiſſance de ces pièces ; malheureuſement ce ne ſont pas les ſeules

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qui ayent été ſoûſtraites; et on s'eſt aſſuré à cet égard toutes les facilités poſſibles, en n'obſervant dans l'enlèvement des papiers du roi, aucune des formalités preſcrites par la loi, pour pouvoir en faire un uſage juridique; on les employe néanmoins à ſa charge, comme ſi toutes ces formalités euſſent été obſervées; on fait plus, on imprime et on répand avec profuſion dans tout le royaume, une collection prétendue complette de toutes les pièces trouvées chez le roi, et on la compoſe uniquement de celles qu'on a jugées ſuſceptibles de quelque interprétation défavorable, et qu'on a encore envenimées par les notes les plus perfides. Les auteurs de cette collection et de ces notes ne figureront pas ſans doute au nombre des juges de Louis XVI. non plus que ceux qui aulieu de ſe borner à diſcuter la forme de procéder à ſon jugement, ont déjà ouvert et publié par la voye de l'impreſſion, leur opinion ſur le fond du procès, car ſuivant la loi généralement établie, et conſtament obſervée en matière criminelle dans tous les pays civiliſés, des juges qui ont

condamné un accuſé avant de l'entendre, ne peuvent pas plus concourir à ſon jugement que ſes propres accuſateurs. S'il étoit poſſible que cette loi fut violée dans le jugement du procès de Louis XVI. la nation toute entière s'éléveroit bientôt contre ſes infracteurs, et appelleroit ſur leur tête la punition la plus éclatante.

" Plein de confiance dans la juſtice de la convention nationale, je demande que toutes les pièces adreſſées au miniſtre de la juſtice pour ſervir à la juſtification de Louis XVI. ſoient remiſes à ſes defenſeurs.

" Dans le nombre des autres pièces qui ont dû ſe trouver dans les papiers ſaiſis au chateau des Thuilleries, et qui ont ſans doute été ſouſtraites, puiſqu'on ne les a pas compriſes dans les collections imprimées; je citerai,

" 1°. Une lettre écrite au roi, à la fin du mois de Juillet dernier, par trois députés du corps légiſlatif, qui avoient à cette époque une influence très prépondérante dans l'aſſemblée; l'objet de cette lettre étoit d'annoncer au roi, la cataſtrophe qui s'eſt con-

ſommée le 10 Août, et de lui propoſer le rappel de Servan, Claviere, et Rolland au miniſtère, comme le ſeul moyen de la prévenir. Je n'ai pas lû cette lettre, parceque je ne voyois le roi qu'en public depuis ma retraite du miniſtère, mais j'ai été exactement inſtruit de ce qu'elle contenoit, par des perſonnes qui l'avoient lue; j'indiquerai ces perſonnes et les trois députés qui ont ſigné cette lettre, auſſitôt que le procès de Louis XVI. commencera à s'inſtruire, à charge et à décharge par la voye de l'information, comme doit s'inſtruire tout procès criminel pour pouvoir être jugé. Cette lettre prouvera du moins que ce n'eſt pas à Louis XVI. qu'il faut reprocher les flots de ſang qui ont coulé dans la journée du 10 Août, mais à la faction qui vouloit le détrôner et l'égorger pour faire rentrer Servan, Claviere et Rolland dans le miniſtère, et dont les ſuccès n'ont pas encore aſſouvi la rage. Thyerry, premier valet de chambre du roi, fut chargé de lui remettre cette lettre; il a été maſſacré depuis, quoiqu'il ne

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fut pas de ſervice au chateau dans la journée du 10 Août.

" 2° Un plan ſecrêt contenant 21 articles, arrêté à Mantoue par l'empereur Léopold, à la fin du mois de May 1791. L'objet de ce plan, étoit le rétabliſſement de l'ancienne autorité du roi; l'empereur devoit pour cet effet entrer en France avec toutes ſes troupes au commencement du mois de Juillet ſuivant, époque à laquelle nos armées et nos frontières n'étoient pas en état de défenſe. Le roi ſeul pouvoit empêcher, et empêcha l'exécution de ce plan; on ne lui demandoit que ſon conſentement ſecrèt, et il n'eut beſoin de conſulter perſonne pour le refuſer, parceque les ſacrifices auxquels le bonheur du peuple le déterminoit, étoient toujours ſincères. Les deux ſeuls miniſtres qui avoient été inſtruits de ces faits, et d'une infinité d'autres auſſi importants pour la juſtification du roi, dont ils avoient obtenu et juſtifié la confiance, (MM. de Montmorin et de Leſſart,) ont été maſſacrés, et malheureuſement il eſt bien difficile de n'attribuer qu'au hazard le choix

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des victimes immolées le 2 Septembre, et celui des pièces qui ont été ſouſtraites des papiers du roi, ou dont la publication eſt retardée ; quoiqu'il en ſoit, ſi le plan ſecrèt de Léopold ne ſe trouve pas, j'indiquerai encore auſſitôt que l'information ſera commencée, trois temoins qui en ont eu une parfaite connoiſſance, et qui par l'uniformité de leur dépoſition pourront en conſtater l'exiſtence, et la teneur auſſi complètement que ſi la pièce elle-mème étoit produite.

" 3° Un mémoire écrit en entier de la main du roi, dans lequel il ſe rend compte à lui-même de tout ce qu'il a fait depuis qu'il eſt monté ſur le trône, de ſes projets, de ſes vues, et même des fautes qu'il avoit à ſe reprocher. Ce mémoire qu'on peut regarder comme le portrait fidèle de Louis XVI. peint par lui même et pour lui ſeul, ſeroit aujourd'hui la pièce la plus intéréſſant de ſon procès ; on y reconnoit juſques dans les fautes qu'il ſe reproche l'empreinte de toutes ſes vertus, et de ſon amour conſtant pour le peuple François ; l'exiſtence

de ce mémoire parmi les papiers ſaiſis chez le roi, eſt conſtatée par une lettre qui vient d'être adreſſée par M. de Liancourt a M. de Maleſherbes.

" Tels ſont, monſieur, les faits ſur leſquels j'ai crû devoir appeller l'animadverſion de la convention nationale, et l'attention de toute l'Europe, en donnant à cette dénonciation toute la publicité poſſible; j'en dépoſe la minute chez de Lord Maire de Londres, et je vous requiers, monſieur, en votre qualité de préſident, d'en donner communication à l'aſſemblée, à défaut dequoi vous ſeriez bien notoirement reſponſable des ſuites de ſon ignorance ſur les faits conſignés dans cet acte.

(Signé) DE BERTRAND.

" Londres, le 8 Janvier 1793."

No. VII.

Lettre du Roi Louis XVIII. à M. l'Abbé Edgeworth, confeſſeur de Louis XVI.

" Blankenbourg, le 17 Septembre 1796.

" J'AI appris, monſieur, avec une extrême ſatisfaction que vous êtes enfin échappé à tous les dangers auxquels votre ſublime dévouement vous a expoſé. Je remercie ſincèrement la Divine Providence d'avoir daigné conſerver en vous un de ſes plus fideles miniſtres, et l'unique confident des dernières penſées d'un frère dont je pleurerai ſans ceſſe la perte, d'un roi dont tous les bons Français beniront a jamais le mémoire, d'un martir dont vous avez le premier proclamé le triomphe, et dont j'eſpère que l'égliſe conſacrera un jour les vertus. Le miracle de votre conſervation me fait eſpérer que Dieu n'a pas encore abbandonné la France, il veut ſans doute qu'un témoin irréprochable atteſte à tous les Français, l'amour

mour dont leur roi fut ſans ceſſe animé pour eux, afin que connoiſſant bien toute l'étendue de leur perte, ils ne ſe bornent pas à de ſtériles regrets, mais qu'ils cherchent en ſe jettant dans les bras d'un père qui les leur tend, le ſeul adouciſſement que leur juſte douleur puiſſe recevoir. Je vous exhorte donc, Monſieur, ou plutôt je vous demande avec inſtance, de recueillir et de publier tout ce que votre ſaint miniſtère ne vous ordonne pas de taire, c'eſt le plus beau monument que je puiſſe ériger au meilleur des rois, et au plus chéri des frères.

" Je voudrois pouvoir, monſieur, vous donner des preuves efficaces de ma profonde eſtime, mais je ne puis vous offrir que mon admiration et ma reconnoiſſance, ce ſont les ſentimens les plus dignes de vous.

(Signé) LOUIS."

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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